00085682

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

Drawn by J. Connolly, from a sketch by [illegible] Esq.re

Day & Haghe Lith.rs to the Qu.

TELMESSUS

Dublin Pub.d by Wm. Curry, Jun.r & Co. 1st Feb.y 1840.

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE

TO

MADEIRA, TENERIFFE,

AND ALONG THE

SHORES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN,

INCLUDING A VISIT TO

ALGIERS, EGYPT, PALESTINE, TYRE, RHODES, TELMESSUS, CYPRUS, AND GREECE.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF

EGYPT AND PALESTINE,

AND ON THE CLIMATE, NATURAL HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, ETC. OF THE COUNTRIES VISITED.

C

85682 a c

BY

W. R. WILDE, M.R.I.A.

Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland,
Member of the Dublin Natural History Society, &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN

WILLIAM CURRY, JUN. AND COMPANY.

LONGMAN, ORME, BROWNE AND CO. LONDON.

1840.

Z. c. 19

910.8
Will/Nar
85682.

00085682

Dublin: Printed by John S. Folms, 5, Bachelor's walk.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER I.

EGYPT.

PAGE

THE present condition of Egypt and character of Mohammad Alee—Diversity of opinions—Impressions received in the Country Parts and in the Cities—Egypt tried by an unfair standard—Prophecies of Ezekiel—Introduction of the Memlooks—Their debasing Government—Testimony of Volney—War of 1802—Rise of Mohammad Alee—Destruction of the Memlook Beys—Exchange of Tyrants—Native Instruction—The different Colleges, Institutions, and Factories—Grades in Society—Railroads—Basha's Household—His Knowledge of the State—Affection for His Wife—Taxation—Effects of the Battle of Koniah—Regeneration of the Country, and Fulfilment of Prophecy—Affairs in the East—Political State of Egypt—Instability of the Turkish Empire—Extent of Mohammad Alee's Territory—Consequence of Returning this to the Porte—Symbol of the Euphrates—Right to Independence—Present State of Turkey—Sooltan's Rule compared with the Viceroy's—Effect of Mohammad Alee's Independence on European Powers—His Hereditary Possession 1

CHAPTER II.

ASIA MINOR.

PAGE

Departure for Rhodes—A Hurricane—The Gulf of Symi—Its Scenery —Description of the Bay—The Island of Vurnos—Greek Colony—Island of Patelina—Remains of the Knights of St. John—Village of Darachia—Water Tortoises—Climate—Rhodes—Its Harbour—The Knight's Tower—Fortifications—The Strada Cavaliére—Its Council Hall—Escutcheons—A Dream of the Past—The Burial Ground —Ancient Guns—Inhabitants—Greek Quarter—Condition of the Island—Cause of its decay—Auction—Bashalicks—Effect upon the People—The late Reforms—Climate—Leprosy—Zoology—The Colossus and Ancient Harbour—The Basha—His Residence and Costume—Troops—Petrified Beech—A Funeral—A Launch—Visit to Marmorice—Its Scenery—Town—A Serenade—Neighbouring Valleys—Summer Houses—Inhabitants—Bees—Mountain Vegetation —Land Tortoises—The Ancient Physcus—Grave-yards—Fat-tailed Sheep—Bay of Karagatch—The Surrounding Country—Plane Trees —Turkomans—A Shooting Excursion—Proceed to the Gulf of Glaucus 28

CHAPTER III.

ASIA MINOR.

The Gulf of Glaucus—Macri—Its Scenery—The Modern Town—Its Inhabitants—Unhealthy situation of the place—Telmessus—Its Tombs—Barrows—Stelæ—Pillars mentioned by Josephus—Inquiry into the origin of Pillars—Found in the British Isles—Their different uses—The Soros—The Tomb of Helen—Sarcophagi peculiar to Asia Minor—A Warrior's Tomb—Rock-carved Sepulchres—Regal Mausolea—Their Facades—An ancient Temple—Remarkable form of its roof—Reflections upon Tombs—The Theatre—Description of its Ruins—Acoustics of the Ancients—Cyclopean Prosceniun—Magnificent prospect of the Spectators—Surrounding Scenery—The Grecian Drama—The Charms of Travel—The Soothsayer's Cave—Baths—Dromedaries—Climate—Classic Authorities upon Telmessus—The Isle of Cavaliére—Bay of Kalamaki—Kastelorizo—Its Town and Harbour—Navy—Cyprus—Limasol—The Cyprian Wine—Unhealthy condition of the Island—Sail for Syria 66

CHAPTER IV.

SYRIA.

PAGE

Beyrout—Quarantine—Rise of the Sea—Silk Manufactory—Proceed to Jaffa—Lebanon—A Storm—Tyre—Appearance of the Place—Inhabitants—Present Condition of Tsour—Comparison of its Ancient Grandeur and Merchandize—Author's desire to Visit it—Questions proposed for Enquiry—Position of the Peninsula—Water Tower—Whence its Supply—A Remarkable Rock—The Aqueduct—Marshuk—Its Cistern and Water Works—A Threshing Instrument—Discovery of Ancient Tombs—Their Position—Historic Sketch of the several Cities of Tyre—Its Earliest Mention—Chronology of Sir I. Newton—Palæ Tyrus—Its Antiquity—Siege of Salmanazer—Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar—Building of Insular Tyre—Besieged by Alexander—Prophetic Fulfilment—Its History up to the Introduction of Christianity—From that to the Crusades—Probable Site of Palæ Tyre—Opinion of the Count de Bertou—Derivation of the word Tyre—Definition of Palæ—Position of Ancient Cities—Sepulchres—Aqueducts—The Modern Town—Its Population—Remains of the Insular City—Rise of the Sea—Harbours—Submerged Ruins—Discovery of the Dye-pots—Fountains of Solomon—Departure from Tyre—Caipha—Zoology—Proceed to Jaffa 103

CHAPTER V.

PALESTINE.

Jaffa—Lazarettos—Convents—The ancient Harbour—Gardens about Jaffa—Plain of Sharon—Its Verdure—Recollections on passing through it—Its Atmosphere—Villages—Ramlah—Pilgrims—Convent of St. Nicodemus—The Martyr's Tower—Trade of the Town—Monks—Proceed to Jerusalem—Goats—Hill country of Judea—Sterility of Palestine—Beth-horon—Village of Jeremiah—The Terebinthine Vale—The Battle-field of Goliath—An Allegory—First View of the Holy City—The Latin Convent—The Hospicium—Father Benjamin—Visit to the Superior—His Inquiries—Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Its outer Court—Mohammadan Guards—Anointing Stone—Calvary—The Place of the Cross—Altars—Emotion of the Pilgrims—The Holy Sepulchre—Its Pavilion—Description of

PAGE

the Tomb—Stations and Holy Places—Pillar of Scourging—Singing—Louis Philip—Disgraceful Conduct of the Friars—Recollections of the Crusades—Peter the Hermit—Exciting Scenes in the Church of the Sepulchre—Sensations produced by the Place—The Holy Fire—Its late Fatal Result—Death of 300 Pilgrims—A Midnight Scene in Jerusalem—An Armenian Bishop—The Identity of the Sacred Places 167

CHAPTER VI.

JERUSALEM.

Topography of Jerusalem—Mode of Constructing Maps—Opinions of Clarke and Buckingham—Plans of Mr. Catherwood—Description of the hills on which the city stands—The Streams and Valleys—Map of the Author—History of the several Cities on this Spot—Salem—Sion—Building of the Temple—Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar—Rebuilt by Zerubbabel—Agrippa's Wall round Bezetha—Errors in Topography—Descriptions of Josephus—Acra and Moriah—The Three Walls—Tower of Hippicus—Circuit of the Ancient City—Tower of Antonia—Tower of Psephinus—The Royal Sepulchres—Walls of Nehemiah—Description of the Gates and Fountains—Establishment of their Sites—The Armoury—Existing Remains of the Ancient City—Cyclopean Work—The Outer Enclosure of the Temple—Mourning Israelites—Berca Solymon—Corroborations—Similarity of Architecture—Authority of Ancient Writers—Circumference of the Ancient and Modern City—Ælia Capitolina 216

CHAPTER VII.

JERUSALEM.

Promise of a New City—The Labours of Mr. Fry—Prophecies—Lines of the Prophetic City—Tower of Hananeel—The Eastern Wall—The Northern Boundary—Goath—The Southern and Western Wall—The Prophet Ezekiel—His Vision—The City-like Temple—Its Measurements—Its Supposed Symbolical Meaning—Reference to Solomon's Temple—The Eastern Gate—Its Architecture—Traditions—Its Station in the Millennial City—Remarkable Predictions concerning it—Mohammadan Traditions of Jerusalem—The Manuscript of Jalal-Addin—Prophecy of Mahadi—

PAGE

Expected Return of Messiah—Dr. Clarke's Topography—His Discoveries—Position of Mount Sion—Objections of Mr. Buckingham—Their Fallacy—His Map—Refutation of Clarke's Objections—Sepulchres of David—Proofs from the Book of Joshua—Clarke's Knowledge of the Holy City—Authority of the Apostles—Calvary—Vulgar Errors—Golgotha—Identity of the Holy Sepulchre—Grotto of Jeremiah—The Royal Sepulchres—Tombs of the Judges—Their Manner of Construction—The Valley of Jehosaphat—Tomb of the Virgin—Gethsemane—Mount of Olives—Sepulchres of the Patriarchs—Siloam—Valley of Hinnom—The Aceldama—Discoveries of the Author—The Races of Mankind—Opinion of Dr. Pritchard 259

CHAPTER VIII.

PALESTINE.

The Jews—Their Character in Jerusalem—Number—Benjamin of Tudela—Means of Subsistence—Their Love for the City—Patriotism—Transportation of their bones—Their Language—Synagogues—Ancient Customs—Present State and Prospects—A Touching Scene—Hope—Lepers—Houses—Female Inhabitants—Their Amusements—Missionaries—The English Church—The Different Sects of Christians—The Latin Fathers—A Pharmacy—Greeks—Armenians—Their Convents—Door of the Holy Sepulchre—Copts—Their History and Customs—Effects of the Conscription—An Arab's Love—Pool of Bethesda—Its Remarkable Masonry—Tomb of David—A Prussian Prince—A Navigator of the Dead Sea—Irishmen—Eastern Shepherds—Bethlehem—Its Beautiful Females—Convent—Place of the Nativity—Etham—Solomon's Cisterns—Aqueduct—Visit to Bethany—Sepulchre of Lazarus—Return to Ramla—Sirocco—Climate of Palestine—An Adventure—How to catch a Mule—Proceed to Europe . . . 358

CHAPTER IX.

GREECE.

Departure from Jaffa—Flying Fish—Syra—Cape Colonna—Temple of Minerva Sunium—The Piræus—Omnibuses—Athens—View of the Parthenon—Present Condition of the City—Sir Edmund Lyons

PAGE

Society—King Otho—Bavarian Government—The New Palace—Its Cost—The Greek Loan—Destruction of the Pentelic Quarries—Climate of Athens—Accommodation for Invalids—Means of Access—Visit to Marathon—Fossil Beds—Mr. Finlay—His Paper on that Subject—Arrow-heads—Their Similarity to Irish—Varna—Leoshea—Return to Athens—Easter—The Greek Church—Christian Salutation—Romaic Dance—Missionaries—Schools—The English Church—Hospitals—Museums—Proceed to the Morea—Napoli di Romania—Tyrus—Tomb of Agamemnon—Mycenæ—Its Lions—Architecture—Argos—Geological Appearance—Gibraltar—Advantages of Yachting—Return to Ireland—Kingstown . . . 438

APPENDIX.

The House of Togarmuth 467

The Tyrian Dye 468

Anatomical Characteristics of the Heads found in the Aceldama, and Description of the Cranium of a Modern Egyptian . . . 489

Register of the Fahrenheit Thermometer, on board the Crusader Yacht 492

NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE.

CHAPTER I.

EGYPT.

The present condition of Egypt and character of Mohammad Alee—Diversity of Opinions—Impressions received in the Country Parts and in the Cities—Egypt tried by an unfair standard—Prophecies of Ezekiel—Introduction of the Memlooks—Their debasing Government—Testimony of Volney—War of 1802—Rise of Mohammad Alee—Destruction of the Memlook Beys—Exchange of Tyrants—Native Instruction—The Different Colleges, Institutions, and Factories—Grades in Society—Railroads—Basha's Household—His Knowledge of the State—Affection for His Wife—Taxation—Effects of the Battle of Koniah—Regeneration of the Country, and Fulfilment of Prophecy—Affairs in the East—Political State of Egypt—Instability of the Turkish Empire—Extent of Mohammad Alee's Territory—Consequence of this returning to the Porte—Symbol of the Euphrates—Right to Independence—Present State of Turkey—Sooltan's Rule compared with the Viceroy's—Effect of Mohammad Alee's Independence on European Powers—His Hereditary Possession

THE extraordinary diversity of opinions expressed in Egypt as well as in Europe, regarding the character and government of Mohammad Alee, and the present state of the country, is so remarkable as to demand an inquiry how those opinions have arisen, and how views so different have in their turn been adopted by the visitor and the writer.

Opinions as opposite as the poles, are daily

formed and promulgated by the traveller, and these will be found to arise not so much from previously conceived ideas, as from the mode in which he views the country, and the reception he there meets with; circumstances which must, even to the mind least liable to be prejudiced, tend to bias the judgment. A few years ago Europe rung with the praises of this wonderful man, and vaunted the regeneration wrought in this ancient, highly-favoured, but long degraded land. It has now become the fashion to decry the character of the viceregal occupant of the throne of the Pharaohs. Let us see how these opinions are formed.

A traveller arriving in Egypt, by way of the Red Sea, lands at Cosier, and reaches the Nile in the vicinity of the first cataract, for the purpose of examining the ruins of Thebes, Luxor, and Karnak, and the other antiquities of Upper Egypt. The impression there received of the former grandeur of this ancient people is brought into the strongest contrast with the present unutterable poverty and wretchedness of the natives, who are now, however, allowed, for the first time for ages, the *privilege* of living. Nay, the trivial circumstance of their inhabiting, in all the squalid misery of want, those mighty monuments of their bygone glory, affects the mind, and warps it from sober and impartial judgment. Unprovided, perhaps, with the magic signature of Mohammad Alee, obstacles present themselves to his antiquarian researches, and the very difficulty

of procuring boats to convey him down the Nile, (all the boats here belonging to the Basha,) prejudice him against the Fellaheen; to obtain redress of whom, for some fancied wrong, he applies to some ravenous sheyk, who, for a bribe of a few piasters, submits the unfortunate and ignorant accused to the agonies of the Koorbag.

As he proceeds down the river against untoward winds, and suffering daily annoyances from want of the luxuries he has been accustomed to, he meets the conscription officer and tax-gatherer, in the full exercise of their hated and oppressive power; the former of whom, he sees dragging the peasant from his home, and followed to the water's edge by the curses of the infirm, and the wailings of the mother and the wife; while many of those who are left behind have purchased their exemption by the mutilation of their limbs, or the partial deprivation of their sight; and he beholds much of this fertile land waste for want of cultivation.

Arrived at Cairo, disgusted with the country, and out of humour with himself, he looks with a jaundiced eye upon the modern manufactories, and other improvements made by the viceroy, whose reception of him may no doubt eradicate some of the impressions he had already received on his voyage down the Nile, but which may be shortly wiped away, perhaps, by the company he meets at his consul's, or the renegade European instructors he may find at his hotel, or in the billiard-room.

Others again, landing at Alexandria, receive the opinions of the agent or consul they may be most in contact with, whose judgment may, in turn, have been biassed for or against the government by the result of his last presentation at court—by the political feelings towards the Basha, of the nation he represents—or, by the result of the last commercial speculation he had had with Mohammad Alee, who, being the sole merchant of the country, transacts his business in person, and often strikes a hard bargain. It is the object of all who are not then in favour to enumerate to the traveller every instance of oppression or fancied misgovernment; and to place before him those dreary pictures which almost every country affords of hardships and distress.

On the other hand, a visitor appears furnished with such recommendations as insures him a certain degree of attention at court; a deal of pains is consequently taken that he shall see every thing in the best possible light, and it is made the business of the officials to make the most favourable representations of every circumstance connected with the state of the country, in order to raise it the more highly in his estimation. Thus he is led to see manufactories, schools, and hospitals, together with well-disciplined troops, fully qualified instructors, artizans skilful in their different departments, and a well-fed population crowding the principal and most opulent parts of the city. To all these his views are at first generally confined, and in the din and

bustle of such movements, and the interest excited by the novelty and diversity of the scene, he knows not or hears not of the misery without; and should he ascend into the country, he is borne along in all the ease and luxuriance which can be furnished, and with such supplies for his comfort, that he has no opportunity of demanding from the inhabitants what they could not possibly procure. Yea, more than this, it is a positive fact, that frequently he is supplied with every necessary for his journey, at the expense of the very man whose government he is going to review. In a word, his first impressions are received, and his opinions formed, from the extreme good he has witnessed and enjoyed in the neighbourhood of the *city*, as those of the extreme ill of the other are formed from his observations in the *country*.

Egypt has been tried by the standard of civilization and refinement at present to be met with in the countries of Europe; whereas, to make a parallel we should try her by the state those countries were in at a similar epoch of their progress, when it will be found that the Fellaheen, or lower class of Egypt, are now in a far better condition than when England—in the age of her escape from barbarism—placed collars on the necks of her serfs, bearing the names and titles of their owners. To try Egypt fairly, we must inquire what she was at the beginning of this century, under her Memlook governors. But it has been altogether for-

gotten or overlooked, that about 2,500 years ago an artist, then a captive at the Babylonish court, who painted coming events from the lights and beams of Jehovah's mind, drew with the unerring pencil of inspiration a picture of what this land was yet to be—wasted by the hand of the stranger, sold into the possession of the wicked, and "desolate in the midst of the countries that are desolate, and her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted. The sceptre of Egypt shall depart away, and there shall be no more a prince of the land. They shall be a base kingdom—it shall be the basest of kingdoms." Was ever prophetic language more literally fulfilled; yea, in the full force of each and every jot and tittle? For centuries was this fertile land laid waste and governed by *strangers;* without a sceptre, and without a prince. Desolate herself, by reason of her bad government and want of cultivation, in the midst of the vast desert by which she is surrounded; with her cities many of them rising out of, and formed of the very materials and rubbish gathered from the ruins of the ancient cities; and with the Arab huts and villages erected within the walls, and upon the very roofs of some of her most stately temples and edifices. And *base,* because debased by crimes that make man blush for his fellow, as utterly disgraceful to humanity; and lead us to wonder how man's form could have clothed the spirits of wretches such as then possessed the country.

In the year 1230 a prophecy which remained

outstanding against the land was commenced to be fulfilled. The Moguls and Tartar hordes, by invading Persia, became lords of that great territory from the Caspian to the Tigris, and returned from the conquest with a vast number of captives from Georgia, Circassia, Mingralia, and other countries bordering on the great Caucasian range. Struck with the fine athletic forms and fair complexions of this noble race, their masters conceived the idea of forming a band of warriors, who from that period received the name of Memlooks, or military slaves, and who were in a short time introduced into Egypt. These, in time, deposed their masters, became lords of the countries they were sent to protect, and erected a new dynasty of their own, with the title of Egyptian Sooltans, under which Egypt continued up to the year 1517, when:—"the sword, the bow-string, or poison, public murder, or private assassination now became the fate of a series of tyrants, 47 of whom are enumerated in the space of 257 years." At this period the Ottoman Sooltans rose up, and for ever put an end to the dynasty of the Memlooks; yet was not the race destroyed, for now the full outpouring of denunciation came upon the land,—it was left without a prince, and became a country of strangers. And here, instead of drawing from the usual historic records, I would pause, and turn to the descriptions of one who, though he denied the truth of the Great Original, yet retinted the picture of Ezekiel with such fidelity as

to ratify all the threatenings borne on its prophetic page.

In ordinary cases, we might expect that even a foreign race would, by intermarriage and naturalization, become assimilated to, and form part of the people of their adopted country. But, no; it is a fact, startling but undeniable, that *every* Memlook who ruled in Egypt during the whole of that long period, was born in a *distant* land—sold as a *slave*, and adopted to fill the place of one who, too proud to intermarry with the natives, had no family —no successor by the wives introduced from the slave-markets of Constantinople. So truly remarkable is this, as to drag from Volney the observation, that:—"on seeing them existing in this country for several centuries, we should be led to imagine their race is preserved by the ordinary means; but if their first establishment was a singular event, their continuation is not less extraordinary." Many have been the causes brought forward from ancient writers, and from the analogy of natural history to account for this; but it has been forgotten that the land was to be "wasted by the hands of *strangers*."

The horrors that were perpetrated by this hated race, steeped in infamy, and black with crime, are too disgusting to be enumerated, for Egypt under them became "*the basest of kingdoms*." Split into cabals, torn and distracted by the civil broils, and the continual bloodshedding of rival Beys, the people groaned under a succession, and a multiplicity of tyrants,

the baneful effects of whose demoralizing influence still hang over and weigh down a people who, under their sway, became a disgrace to the very form of human nature. "True it is,"—says Volney, in 1785—"the Porte still retains there a Pasha; but this Pasha, confined and watched in the Castle of Cairo, is rather the *prisoner* of the Memlooks, than the representative of the Sultan. Strangers to each other, they are not bound by those natural ties which unite the rest of mankind. Without parents —without children—the past has done nothing for them, and they do nothing for the future. Ignorant and superstitious from education they become ferocious from the murders they commit, perfidious from frequent cabals, seditious from tumults, and base, deceitful, and corrupted by every species of debauchery. And what could be expected of the condition of the people under such masters?—without commerce or arts; for the most simple of these are still in a state of infancy. The work of their cabinet-makers, lock-smiths, and gun-smiths, is extremely clumsy. Their mercery, their hardware, their gun and pistol barrels, are all imported from foreign countries; with difficulty you can find one watch-maker at Cairo who knows how to repair a watch, and he, too, is an European. Every thing the traveller sees, or hears reminds him that he is in the country of slavery and tyranny. Nothing is talked of but intestine dissensions, the public misery, pecuniary extortions,

bastinadoes, and murders. There is no security for *life or property*. The blood of men is shed like that of the vilest animals. Justice, herself, puts to death without formality. The officer of the night in his rounds, and the officer of the day in his circuit, judge, condemn, and execute, in the twinkling of an eye, without appeal. Executioners attend them; and on the first signal, the head of the unhappy victim falls into the leathern bag, in which it is received for fear of soiling the place. Were even the appearance of criminality necessary to expose to the danger of punishment, this would be tolerable; but frequently without any other reason than the avarice of a powerful chief, or the information of an enemy, a man is summoned before some Bey, on suspicion of having money. A sum is demanded from him, and if he denies that he possesses it, he is thrown on his back, and receives two or three hundred blows on the soles of his feet, nay, sometimes is put to death. Unfortunate is he who is suspected of being in easy circumstances! A hundred spies are every moment ready to accuse him, and it is only by assuming the appearance of poverty that he can hope to escape the rapaciousness of power."

It is a recorded fact, that scarcely a sailor knew the compass, and so utterly hopeless did the master mind of Volney consider the scene of desolation's triumph, when in one of his walks he saw, under the walls of Alexandria, two wretches

sitting on the dead carcass of a camel, and disputing its putrid fragments with the dogs, that he was forced to exclaim, "I am, above all, led to believe that *Egypt can never shake off this yoke.*" But He who upholdeth all things—who can curse and none can bless, and bless and none can curse—who can bring down and raise up, even from the dead, by his power, hath promised that He "shall smite Egypt; He shall smite and heal it; and they shall return even to the Lord; and He shall be entreated of them, and shall heal them."* Let us see how this is being brought about:—and in the contrast exhibited at present to the traveller in Egypt, although we must allow much more could, and it is to be hoped, will be done; yet, it is also to be acknowledged, that by the means of her present governor, Egypt, like her own fabulous bird of old, is even now rising from her ashes.

At the commencement of the present century, Egypt was subject to still greater desolation than it had previously experienced; for, in addition to the increasing broils and exactions of its own masters, it became the theatre of war between France and England. A partial calm, however, took place on the removal of the armies in the early part of 1803, when the Albanians and Memlooks formed that memorable combination against the Turkish power, which it is supposed was fanned and fostered by the emissaries of Napoleon, in order to pave his way into

* Isaiah, xix. 22.

British India. During the two following years, nothing but anarchy and confusion prevailed. The arts of peace were so far neglected, that the natural produce of a country which ought to be the granary of Africa, and one of the richest in the world, was incompetent for its own support. It was then that a poor Albanian soldier of obscure origin, conceived the bold idea of not only reducing this country to a state of regular and settled government, but of regenerating it by means hitherto unknown—and strictly prohibited by the tenets of Mohammadanism—the introduction of the arts and sciences, commerce, tactics, and manufactories, together with the habits, manners, and customs, of European Christian nations. Even to *hint* at this, he had obstacles to contend with of no ordinary magnitude, and materials to work with of the very lowest and worst description. It was then that the buoyant spirit of this man raised him to the surface of this troubled sea, and the talents, courage, and daring, of Mohammad Alee, shone forth as the rescuer of a country, in one of whose markets (if report speaks true) he himself had been sold as a slave.

Personal prowess and military skill must ever be respected in a country where every man is more or less a soldier, and where the unsheathed sword remains the sceptre; but with his military prowess, or his exterminating war with the Wahabees, our present subject has nothing to do. It was the order of his master, and it was as natural for him to attempt

the rescue of Mekka and Medina, as for the Crusaders to war for the restoration of Jerusalem under Godfrey de Bouillon; and as to the massacre of the 500 Memlooks—a deed conceived in treachery and executed under the faith of hospitality—it was a dark and bloody crime, let it be varnished as it may, that no chronicler dares defend. Yet, humanly speaking, it produced the regeneration of the country; for, possessing, as the Memlooks did, a power equivalent, if not superior, to that of the viceroy, and determined to resist what they termed innovation, even the bitterest enemies of Mohammad Alee must allow, that, as long as their rule existed in Egypt, no one step could he have taken towards her improvement. And, in the hour of their downfall, (even if Mohammad Alee be a tyrant,) Egypt exchanged 500 tyrants for one. From that period arose her power; and the tide of science and of learning, that once swept over the land, and too long had ebbed, exposing the filth and offal of its degenerate condition, has turned, and the sullen roar of its measured swell is already heard, chasing from its ancient shores those unclean beasts, which, for centuries wallowed in its polluted mire.

One of the first acts of Mohammad Alee was to invite artizans and manufacturers to come and settle in the country; and he shortly afterwards procured engineers from several countries of Europe, to explore the different parts of his dominions. But he did a greater work than even this, he sent, at

the expense of the state, a number of Egyptian boys to Europe, to be instructed in the different arts and sciences, many of whom were educated in British universities, and are now teachers in their own. He caused a vast number of his people to be collected and instructed in the different trades necessary to more accomplished nations. He erected dock-yards, arsenals, and manufactories, that have not only given *employment* but *trades* to many thousands that heretofore knew but the handling of a mattock, or a yathagan.*

Not contented with having educated them in other countries, he erected and endowed polytechnic and military schools, with colleges of law, physic, divinity, and belles-lettres; in these he clothes, maintains, and *pays* several hundred boys, though such had, at first, to be dragged by the kidnapping conscription officers from the filth of mud hovels, the raggedness of a torn blue shirt, the pains of hunger,

* The following is a brief summary of *some* of the labours of Mohammad Alee in Egypt:—In the naval college there are 1,200 pupils; in the military, 1,400; in the Eugeun, 100; in the veterinary hospital and school, 150; also a school of music; and, in addition to the several institutions and factories that I have mentioned in the current remarks, I may add 1,000 men in the taboush manufactory at Founah; printing establishments and paper mills at Boolac; sugar manufactories; chemical works for saltpetre and chloride of lime at Old Cairo; powder manufactory, and pyrotechnic schools, power loom, calico printing, dying, bleaching, and woollen cloth manufactories, copper mills, glass works, brass and iron foundries, &c. &c.

or the fare of bad beans and dowrah bread, and the more pleasing task of raising water in a bucket from the Nile, and remaining in a state of the most blissful ignorance, to receive the blessings of educatiou.

He has attempted, and is carrying into effect that great step toward civilization in any country, the introduction of *grades in society*. By the security he has given to life and property he has brought into the cities the wares, and also the manufactures of Europeans, hundreds of whom are every where settled in the country; and by the protection he has afforded and the respect he has caused to be shown to all who travel here, he has opened up a field for scientific research till now unknown in any Mohammadan country; and the daily number of arrivals at his capital of European savans, and wealthy travellers, fully attests this. But it is not alone in Egypt, or under his immediate eye, that this exists; for the traveller of 1837 can proceed through places such as the hill countries of Judea, and mountains of Syria with as great (perhaps greater) safety than in many of the large towns of Europe; though, a few years ago, it required both bribes, promises, and often force of arms to effect a passage through these countries.

He has established courts of justice, and in his own person hears petitions, and gives redress to manifest grievances. In 1818 he commenced and completed that great national work, the cutting of the Mahmoudie canal, and although he has

long delayed, and may never commence, the railway from Suez to Cairo, yet he has opened a safe and direct passage for *us* to India, by way of the Red Sea, on which our steamers now ply.* And, as an instance of the liberality of the Basha, as well as of the state of the arts here, I may mention that part of the machinery of the British steamer, which was lately destroyed in her passage from Bombay, was, at his cost, and by his artizans, repaired at Cairo. Had not this been the case, the vessel must have returned to England to be repaired.

He has also introduced and established the cotton trade in Egypt; a commerce particularly well suited to that country. He has, it is true, made a demand of soldiers that the population of Egypt cannot afford; but these he has washed, shaved, clothed, disciplined, and armed, like Europeans. He has, since 1827, by native hands, furnished, armed and manned a navy little inferior to any in Europe. He has caused a toleration of religious opinion unknown in any other Mohammadan country, and has afforded protection even to the poor despised Jew. Not only by the efforts of government, but in his own household, and in his

* Notwithstanding the outcry raised about his not commencing this road, although the rails have long been completed at Cairo, those who are at all acquainted with the country must know how utterly foolish such an attempt would be in a place where the land-storm of an hour or the caprice of a few Bedawees could destroy the work of months.

own person, has this great reformer commenced the work of improvement. He has done away with the hareem attendant on an Eastern prince. His household exceeds but little that of a European noble, and his children are instructed in polite literature and accomplishments, by an English lady of the Methodist connexion. With a moderation in expenditure nowhere to be found in the court of a person of similar rank; with a frugality and temperance of habit never before exhibited in an Eastern prince, Mohammad Alee is perhaps as a governor better acquainted with all the different details of his kingdom than any other ruler in existence. There is no one department of the state that he is not acquainted with; no account of consequence that he does not audit; and no office that is not held by his immediate appointment. The finances of a kingdom; the state of commercial interest; the intrigues of diplomacy; the value of stock; and the very working of each department of the dock-yard or arsenal, where he may often be found, are severally under the superintendence of this great man. He—unlike a character to whom he has been often compared—forgot not, in the plenitude of his power, the Josephine of his poverty, whom he consulted and cherished with a fidelity that a Turk seldom bestows on female old age; and now in the midst of all the troubles and anxieties of a life so arduous as his, he finds moments to spend over the tomb of

the partner of his early life. He is another proud instance of the power of mind that raised a soldier of fortune, who, it is said, could not sign his name at the age of thirty, to the rank he now holds amongst the earth's rulers.

But with all this it is true, and lamentably true, that the country is over taxed. Every date tree bears a tax it is scarcely worth; every *ardab* of wheat is subject to a like exaction; every camel, every boat, and every cotton tree in Egypt is the Basha's. He is the chief and indeed the only real merchant in the country, and is now, perhaps, the greatest merchant in the world. It is true, and lamentably true, that he regulates the price of corn and other kinds of food, which must be stored in public granaries. But do we find the people perish for lack of sustenance?—no; but great as taxation is, it is now acknowledged to be far lighter than it had previously been.

The overweening ambition of Mohammad Alee, and a desire of conquest, together with the mistaken endeavour to force Egypt into what nature never intended she should be—a warlike country—is the great fault of his policy. It is to support his large army that the unjust taxation has been resorted to; but with this force I see that Syria has been conquered and reduced to a state of quiet that has induced a greater number of Israelites to go forward to Jerusalem by the immunities of Mohammad Alee than was ever known since its

destruction; and in this I see the plain and direct fulfilment of that prophecy, in which we are told that "there shall be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria,"* brought about by the glorious consequence of the revolution of Syria at the battle of Koniah.

Altogether I am of opinion that the balance must now lie on the side of the good done by Mohammad Alee in Egypt. He has, however, done another great work; he has placed it in that position from which *it can never return to its former degenerate state;* for the very tradesmen, the artizans he has established, and the thousands who are now educated, must prevent such a catastrophe from occurring. Would, or could Mohammad Alee recall even a part of that soldiery who are now retained to hold Syria, and perhaps Egypt, from the Sooltan, and place them in the native villages, they would not make the worse subjects, or worse agriculturists, that they have been subjected to order, cleanliness, and discipline.

That men like Mohammad Alee have, for a particular purpose, been raised up, have flourished, conquered, and were conquered, decayed, and fell, Scripture warrants, and experience proves; and on that warrant it is for the thinking mind to say whether he has been allowed the power he now possesses, but

"To point a moral, or adorn a tale;"

* Isaiah, xix. 23.

or that he is the instrument employed to hasten that glorious day when Egypt shall be "sent a Saviour, and a great one, and he shall deliver them. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt, and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land, whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying, blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance."*

In the foregoing sketch I have carefully avoided mixing up the present *political* condition of Egypt, or the relation in which the Basha stands, both with the Porte and the different powers of Europe; but the affairs of the east have now become a topic of such absorbing interest, and the Egyptian army has assumed such a threatening position, that even the passing traveller will be asked for an opinion as to the comparative merits of the contending parties, and the probable issue of the present crisis.

That the age we live in is one fraught with interest, and hastening us towards the dawning of great events, is a fact the most apathetic and indifferent must admit. The theatre on which those coming scenes are likely to take place, is one on which were enacted deeds the most wonderful that ever swayed the destinies of mankind. Knowledge is running to and fro in the world, and "tidings out of the east, and out of the north"† are already beginning to trouble us.

* Isaiah, xix. 24, 25. † Dan. xi. 44.

War is bursting out upon the frontiers of British India; Persia, urged on by Russia, is exhibiting a front that neither her inclination nor her power would warrant; the different independent but heretofore friendly states of Hindostan are conniving at, and, in some instances, offering assistance to powers aiming at Indian possessions; the Burmese are gaining daily strength and knowledge wherewith to meet the soldiers of Europe with their own arms and their own discipline; China, impressed with the state of degradation to which *our* traffic has brought her, is threatening the very life and existence of Anglo-Indian commerce; and we have daily proofs of the weakness and instability of the Turkish empire, and the general breaking up of the Mohammadan power. Our attention is, therefore, naturally directed towards the cause of the Syrian war, and the claims that Mohammad Alee has to urge in behalf of his right to independence; and the hereditary possession of the vast territory at present acknowledging his sway. To trace the progressive steps that led to his extraordinary elevation would be foreign to the purport of a work that does not profess to give the history of the Basha; many such sketches are already before the world; but when the life of that great man can be written with accuracy and fidelity, it will form a biography almost unequalled in the nineteenth century, for it will be the history of one of those

blazing lights that at times start up to astonish by their brightness, and leave us dazzled by their glare.

Let us consider three subjects:—The extent of territory of the Egyptian Viceroy; his right to independence; and the effect that independence would have on the balance of power and the general state of affairs in Europe and Asia.

The extent of territory under the dominion of Mohammad Alee is almost unknown in England. It far exceeds that of the mother country, and would, if again added to the Turkish empire, make it a more cumbrous machine than it was ever before; for territories and people that never acknowledged the Sooltan, or Mohammadanism, have been subjugated, and are now ruled by the Egyptian Viceroy. He wrung Egypt from the Porte, and has added to it the whole of Syria, a great part of Asia Minor, as far as where the Euphrates enters the Persian Gulf; in all the Arabian Peninsula, except Muscat; in Nubia, Abyssinia, the ancient Ethiopia, with the plains of Sennaar, Koordofan, and far as the foot of civilized man has followed the various wanderings of the blue and white Nile, Mohammad Alee's power is more or less acknowledged. The extensive borders of the Red Sea, even beyond the Straits of Babelmandel, to the confines of Persia and the Indian Sea, with Candia, and the whole upper border of the Mediterranean, are now included in his dominions; and the great

nomad tribes of the Bedawees of Petra, Babylon, and from Bagdad to Medina, with few exceptions, own him as their prince. All, this, greater even than the mighty empire of Sesostris, was conquered, and is now governed by the orphan boy, whose precarious livelihood was, at one time, gained by the huxtering of tobacco, but who now fills the throne of the Pharaohs, and wields the sceptre of Zenobia!

Were this vast extent of country to be returned into the hands of Turkey, it would but increase the difficulties under which that tottering state now labours, scarcely able to support the pressure of its own weight; for the sixth angel has begun already to pour out his vial upon the great river Euphrates (the acknowledged symbol of the Ottoman empire;) and the water thereof is fast drying up. And why is this? "That the way of the kings of the east might be prepared."* But were it possible that the Porte could even for a time regain its influence, Syria would, upon the death of Mohammad Alee, instead of being governed by his successor in Egypt, be undoubtedly split up into small bashalics, and the people be once more reduced to the horrors and oppression, moral, physical, and religious, that history records was their lot some twenty years ago. That the Viceroy is more than a match for the Porte none can deny; and that, but for the

* Revelation, xvi. 12.

interference of foreign diplomacy, and the threats of foreign aid, he could, at this moment, wrest Constantinople from the descendant of Othman, is equally acknowledged; of which the late battle of Nazib is too conclusive a proof. His right to the kingdom he has conquered, and which I have already described, is no doubt the right of conquest and the strong arm of power; but that kingdom has as good a claim to independence as America had when she threw off the English yoke, or as had Greece, when, *assisted by England*, she freed herself from Turkish slavery. That Mohammad Alee's rule is a more beneficial one for the country we see daily, in the effort he is making to raise the character and condition of the people from that state of degradation in which the baneful influence of Turkish power had kept them for so many centuries—a power, one of whose most firm tenets was war upon the liberty of thought, and death to the introduction of reform, and regarding all innovations upon the habits, forms, customs, and prejudices of five centuries gone by, as an offence punishable with the loss of life. Mohammad Alee's present right of tenure to those countries which his sword has won, is a right that, in a moral point of view, the powers of Europe should well consider, for it is the benefit he is conferring upon them, by being made the instrument of breaking down the wall of prejudice, ignorance, and superstition, that held those countries in bar-

barity;—by letting in the light of freedom on them, opening up the avenues to civilization, and preparing for that great process of assimilation, which is now taking place among the different nations, tongues, and people of the world. But it will be asked, was not the late Sooltan a reformer, too? had he not improvements in his army and in his capital? did he not shoot his thousands of Janizaries, and endeavour to Europeanize his people? I will let another, who knew the Turkish empire well, answer these questions. "Of these reforms," says Marshal Marmont, in his late work on the Present State of the Turkish Empire, "it has been thought that the Sultan has created a new order of things, and commenced an era of civilization in Turkey, whereas, in reality, little more has been effected than the destruction of the Janizaries, and the establishment of the new military force. The former was a useful and important act, for which the Sultan is deserving of the highest praise; but the troops by which the Janizaries have been replaced, are far from realising the hopes that were conceived of them; and as to the boasted reforms, they bear only on matters of a frivolous nature, such as the change of titles or of dress—thus the turban has been proscribed, the Reis Effendi has changed his name to that of 'Minister for Foreign Affairs,' the power of the Grand Vizier has been curtailed, the extent of some

of the provinces altered, and the army is recruited by conscription, according to the arbitrary will of the Pachas.

"The great Timars, or Fiefs, which existed in Asia, and were wisely governed, furnished the empire in time of war with twenty thousand good cavalry; but the Sultan has destroyed those fiefs, and as his agents cannot exercise over the population the same degree of authority that the original owners possessed, he neither receives troops nor money from these districts, which are a prey to disorder; every thing, in short, exhibits weakness, and the elements of dissolution are spreading in all directions." And even those changes, insignificant as they appear, are being done away with by the present young Sooltan, who is said to be particularly wedded to all the forms of Mohammadanism, which he is re-introducing, in order, if possible, to become popular, allay the present ferment in Constantinople, and win back the affections of the people to his government; which had been estranged through the reforms *attempted* to be introduced by his father, but who wanted the energy and decision of Mohammad Alee to carry them into effect. In fact, whatever were the improvements of the late Sooltan Mahmoud, he was in them but a copyist of his viceroy, to meet whom upon equal grounds he introduced them, and not from any wish to serve his people by the change. The states of Europe, jealous of every effort at the destruction of ancient

monarchies, and anxious to maintain the peace of the world, have refused to acknowledge the independence of Mohammad Alee, who naturally desires to see the kingdom he has raised up pass into the possession of his family, for whom he bears a very strong affection. Were that independence now acknowledged, it would bring back to the fertile plains of Egypt and Syria at least one hundred thousand men, the majority of a force he is now obliged to retain, to hold that position which he has assumed. Should Egypt alone become an independent kingdom, what influence will it have upon England? how will it bear upon our Indian frontier, or alter our passage by the Red Sea? Certainly beneficially—as, while in the possession of a government whose counsels are so swayed by Russia, that in violation of all her ancient treaties with England, she consented, at the treaty of Unkar Skelessi, to prevent all English men-of-war from passing the Bosphorus, so that to reach the Russian capital, the ambassador of Great Britain has to lower the pennant of a line-of-battle ship, withdraw her guns, shut up her port-holes, and enter the Black Sea as a yacht!

Finally, let me observe that, to prevent war between Mohammad Alee and the Porte there is one remedy: let his kingdom remain dependent on Turkey at a stated tribute, but make it hereditary in the family of its present governor.

CHAPTER II.

ASIA MINOR.

Departure for Rhodes—A Hurricane—The Gulf of Symi—Its Scenery—Description of the Bay—The Island of Vurnos—Greek Colony—Island of Patelina—Remains of the Knights of St. John—Village of Darachia—Water Tortoises—Climate—Rhodes—Its Harbour—The Knights' Tower—Fortifications—The Strada Cavaliére—Its Council Hall—Escutcheons—A Dream of the Past—The Burial Ground—Ancient Guns—Inhabitants—Greek Quarter—Condition of the Island—Cause of its Decay—Auction—Bashalicks—Effect upon the People—The late Reforms—Climate—Leprosy—Zoology—The Colossus and Ancient Harbour—The Basha—His Residence and Costume—Troops—Petrified Beach—A Funeral—A Launch—Visit to Marmorice—Its Scenery—Town—A Serenade—Neighbouring Valleys—Summer Houses—Inhabitants—Bees—Mountain Vegetation—Land Tortoises—The Ancient Physcus—Grave-yards—Fat-tailed Sheep—Bay of Karagatch—The Surrounding Country—Plane Trees—Turkomans—A Shooting Excursion—Proceed to the Gulf of Glaucus.

We left Alexandria with a fair wind, on the morning of the 7th February, for Rhodes, whose snug harbour offered us secure head quarters for some time, and whose climate is particularly mild at this season of the year. In the commencement of this, as in nearly all our other voyages, we encountered a gale of wind shortly after setting out. On the 8th it blew a perfect hurricane, and

towards evening the jib-boom was snapped across. At day-light on the morning of the 9th, the island was in sight, but the breeze continuing with unabated violence, and there being a sea of great fury breaking at the narrow entrance to the harbour, it was deemed more prudent not to attempt it, so we shot past with the swiftness of an arrow, and steering to the north-west, made for the gulf of Symi, on the opposite coast of Asia Minor. Accurate information concerning this extensive bay is much wanted, as both the present charts and sailing directions are lamentably deficient. Passing the high rocky island of Symi, that stands at the entrance, we pursued our course along the western shore, keeping as near the land as possible, and sounding as we went along, but the cry was still "no bottom at twenty." The wind, though somewhat less violent within this deep gulf, was still very high; the clouds low, and coursing through the dark gloomy atmosphere with great velocity. A more inhospitable shore I never beheld; wild barren rocks rose abruptly from the water, now standing out in bold relief, as if opposing our further progress, and now shrouded in the drifting mist; with deep hollow gorges through which the wind howled, and into which the swollen angry water rolled its foamy waves; with nothing of life, no trace or appearance of man—all combined to give these regions an air of stern grandeur, heightened by the hour and the tempest.

The night promised to be one of great severity, and the thought of again beating out of this bay, to seek safety in the confined sea-room of this part of the Mediterranean, and with so dangerous and unknown a lee shore, was any thing but cheering. At length, however, upon rounding one of the numerous headlands, a narrow strait suddenly opened to us, towards the extreme end of the bay; we entered, and in a few minutes were in a secure harbour, and cast anchor in seven fathoms water, amidst some of the most magnificently grand and wild mountain scenery I have ever witnessed.

As this part of the bay of Symi is almost unknown to modern travellers, I may be excused dwelling on it longer than I have done in other parts of our voyage. On the north-east is a long narrow island, rising in a slope from the water's edge, to the height of about 400 feet, and stretching to the north for about three-fourths of a mile, with very little vegetation; and composed, as is all this part of the coast, of compact grey limestone, veined with red. This island walls off an extensive secure and land-locked bay, in which there is anchorage for vessels of at least 500 tons burthen. As we lay but a short way off the shore, we soon perceived that it was inhabited, and on landing found a small community of Greeks, who informed us that this part of the bay, between the island and the mainland, was called the bay of Vavarra, and the island itself Vurnos. The head of this little settlement was a

fine patriarchal old man of eighty, the father of nineteen living children. The colony then consisted of about twelve persons, and a more primitive simple race I do not think there could be found; quiet, inoffensive, completely ignorant of, and, perhaps, caring little about what the rest of the world were doing. These people live in the greatest harmony with their Turkish neighbours of the mainland; without the knowledge of wants, they sigh not for luxuries which they could not command. Their wealth consists of 1000 sheep and goats, which they feed in this and the neighbouring islands, and which form their yearly support. Their habitations are miserable huts, and their place of worship a small square stone building, on the top of one of the surrounding knolls. We procured some mutton and fresh milk from them, and determined to remain in our present position, till some favourable change in the weather invited us out.

To the north is another small island, called Patilina, on which are the remains of a considerable town, said to have belonged to the Genoése, and destroyed by them on their leaving this place in the sixteenth century. There were here several small Greek chapels, the walls of which were covered with Scripture pieces, and painted in fresco, which have been sadly defaced by the Turks. The whole island is now, however, covered with a close underwood of mastic, broom, white gum cistus, *cistus creticus* and fœtid sage, so that it is difficult to do more

than relate the fact of this place being the site of a city. In the water along its shores, I found quantities of the mollusc, called *Pyrosmea*.

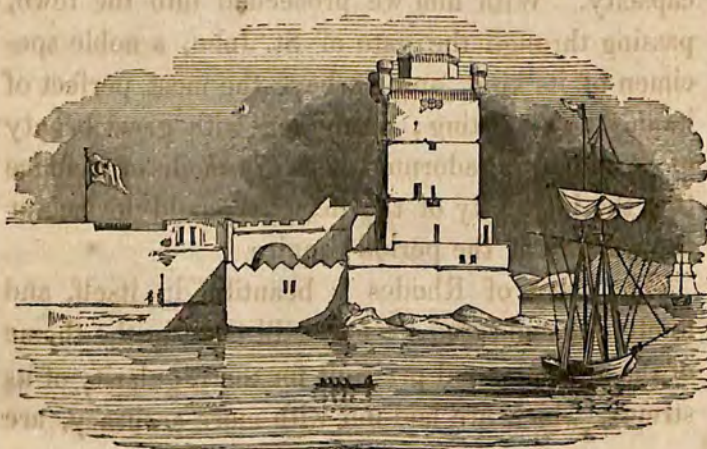
An arm of this bay of Vavarra, turns to N. W., and within it stands a most remarkable conical island, that has all the appearance of a fortification, but which is a steep craggy rock, crowned by an ancient wall, not, however, of any great antiquity, for over one of the entrances, we found a Maltese cross; probably it belonged to the Knights of St. John, either a colony of those that held the island of Rhodes, or a settlement made here after their expulsion thence by the Turks. On the mainland, to the west of our position, were considerable ruins of a like age and structure, with those I have already described. It must have been a delightful retreat; remains of several villas running along the water's edge are still traceable, but the whole place is choked up with weeds, which have become the abode of numbers of porcupines, whose burrowings are to be seen on all sides. The *salvia fœtida*, *salvia Æthiopis*, *polerium spinosum*, and different varieties of brooms clothe the hills; but there is no trace of the heath to be seen, and no forest trees whatsoever. The different curves and sinuosities of these bays give them more the appearance of Highland lakes than parts of the sea.

12th. We visited the Turkish village of Darchia, situated to the N. W., in one of the deep narrow arms of the bay. We found it to contain about a

dozen families. The men are a robust, well-made, noble-looking race, and were to us civil and obliging. They had never heard of detonating guns before, and expressed the greatest surprise at ours. A small stream empties itself into the sea near this village, its banks fringed with magnificent oleanders, on the exposed roots of which were hundreds of small black tortoises,* that dropt into the water at our approach. Some fine olives flourish here, and also figs and almonds; the latter covered with their lovely pinkish blossoms. We saw numbers of jays and hoopoes, and bought several red-legged partridges, *perdix saxatilis*, which abound in the hills. The sportsman, a venerable old Turk, had with him a decoy bird, one of the best trained I ever saw. We found the weather much milder here than at Alexandria; for although the mercury did not rise above 63° in the day, the evenings were fine; and the air, though not so warm as we could have wished, felt healthful, and totally different from Egypt. During the 14th and 15th we experienced much cold; the wind

* *Emys decussata*—the water tortoise.—These curious animals abound in this part of Asia Minor; they swim with wonderful swiftness, and are to be distinguished from the land tortoises by their greater flatness or compression; by their being plantigrade, *i. e.* walking on the planes of the anterior and posterior extremities, while the land ones are digitograde, *i. e.* walking on the toe; also, by a membranous expansion between the toes, which are furnished with long hooked nails; and, also, by a greater length and mobility of tail, which acts as a rudder.

east, and veering to the N. E. On the morning of the 16th we left the bay of Symi, and reached Rhodes during the day. The island is rugged, and the coast in many places precipitous, but the point on which the town stands is a low sandy beach, running down towards the sea. On it are rows of windmills, which, with a few minarets and the summits of some of the towers and fortifications, are all that catch the traveller's eye, till he enters within the small square modern harbour, or to speak more correctly *dock*, for the high walls and forts around, together with its sheltered position, really deserve for it this appellation. Our position was delightful; high walls shut us out from the sea; on our right was the tall stately form of the knights' tower, washed on the one side by the calm water of the harbour, whose only motion arises from the impetus of the passing bark; and on the other beaten by the rolling swell that dashes up its base.



This square tower is memorable, not only on account of its being one of the most beautiful of its age, but because within it was made the last stand of chivalry in the east; and around it took place the last struggle between Christianity and Mohammadanism at the close of the crusades.

Several other towers and castles, both round and square, raise their heads above the surrounding battlements, and in front is a handsome quay, which generally presents a scene of great and varied interest; crowded with the natives of many lands, differing in costume, language, and appearance, yet all engaged in that common pursuit of mankind, gain. Some sheds and coffee-houses, shaded by an aged plane tree, relieve the monotony of the line of dead wall that forms the back ground of this landing place. The British consular agent, Mr. Wilkinson, sent his dragoman on board, a venerable old Jew, who served Sir Sidney Smith in a similar capacity. With him we proceeded into the town, passing through the gate of St. John, a noble specimen of its kind, and perhaps the most perfect of its day now existing; combining with great beauty of architectural adornment, every mode of defence that the ingenuity of the designer could devise, or the warfare of the period require.

The town of Rhodes is beautiful in itself, and finely situated; and we may still take up the theme of the ancients, and praise it for the regularity of its streets, which are laid out with more accuracy, are

kept cleaner, and have a more christianized air about them than any Turkish town I was ever in. But, of the many objects of interest and antiquity in this most interesting place, all fall into comparative insignificance before the Strada Cavaliére, (the Street of the Knights,) which is situated nearly in the centre of the town, rising up a gentle ascent, and consists of a row of palaces on either side, leading to the gothic ruins of what was once the council-hall of Asiatic chivalry. An arch is thrown across the upper end of the street, as if to heighten the effect, and by carrying the eye through a vista, to concentrate it upon this building. The pavement of this street is very peculiar; it is similar to that at Pompeii, and is the most perfect I have ever seen; indeed, I do not think that a single stone has been stirred for the last 300 years. It is constructed of large blocks of stone, forming a smooth raised pathway, or *trottoir*, in the centre, and on either side; between which is a rough pavement of smaller stones. The palaces on either hand bear the escutcheons of their original owners, emblazoned in white marble tablets, set in the walls over the entrances. With few exceptions, these are in most perfect preservation; and as they consist of the armorial bearings of many of the proudest and most ancient families of France, Spain, and Italy, they offer a study to the heraldric antiquary, which, for interest and variety is unequalled. But many a noble name, and many a daring chevalier, whose feats performed upon the plains of Palestine, or in

the lists of Europe were set forth, and still remain upon the walls of the Strada Cavaliére have been effaced from the world's peerage, by the axe or confiscation. The dates attached are mostly about 1500, or from 1490 to 1520, A. D.

Around the doors and the remains of the windows are some splendid specimens of arabesque and fret-work. The tops and upper stories of many of these buildings are now no more, and the window spaces are filled by close lattices, which are frequently replaced by bundles of rags; while the squalidness and misery that appear within, contrast but ill with the empty grandeur of those memorials of proud deeds of arms, gathered in the breach or on the battle-field, that grace the walls without. Although from the dryness of the atmosphere, no moss or lichen has gathered upon the tablets, yet numerous creepers hang in graceful festoons around them, or have entwined themselves among the mouldings and fret-work.

The council-hall is now a roofless crumbling pile; yet, though deserted and unnoticed, its noble pointed arches, clustered pillars, and groined-roofed passages remain to teach the artist, and to charm the antiquary of the present day, as doth the remembrance of the men that built it, call up the valour, arouse the spirit, and nerve the arm of the modern soldier. What scenes must not those walls have witnessed, when within them sat the conclave of the Knights and Christian princes, clad in all the

panoply of war; what tales could they not whisper, what volumes could they not indite? but all, all now is ruin and decay; and where of old the silken banner of the Red-cross Knight fluttered proudly in the breeze, the henbane rears its head, and waves the lonely banneret of the present. Adjoining this place is an extensive mosque, formerly the Christian chapel, and still containing the tomb of one of the grand masters.

So deserted a street within so populous a town I could not have believed to exist, for frequent as were my visits to it, I do not remember to have ever seen three of the inhabitants in it together. It has an air of stillness, an impressive startling silence, that overawes the feelings of the visitor. The wind sighs mournfully as it sweeps through the rank hemlock that springs from the ruined wall or crowns the house-top, and the footstep of the passer, who hastens through it, echoes among the cloisters of the neighbouring buildings.

During our stay at Rhodes, it was my evening walk; and as I rested on some mouldering buttress or prostrate pillar, while the shroud of twilight closed around me, the mind would conjure up in waking dreams of other years, the days, the arms, and the men that once occupied this place: and the martial tread of the mail-clad baron, once more rung upon the pavement, and the long mantle of the templar seemed to rustle past me on the breeze; and,

again, methought I heard the tones of the minstrel's harp, and the song of the Troubadour, that in other days resounded through those walls, with the love-tales of Europe and the feats of chivalry—for still

> "There is a power,
> And magic in the ruined battlement,
> For which the palace of the present hour
> Must yield its pomp—and wait till ages are its dower."

Proceeding through the council-hall we pass to the palace of the grand master, a building of vast size, and, originally, of great strength, but the greater part of it is now in keeping with the neighbouring ruins, and what little of it is still tenantable is used as an hospital. Beyond this, a massive drawbridge, guarded by a portcullis, leads over a deep fosse, to the burial-ground: a plain of great extent surrounding the upper part of the town, and at once eliciting the inquiry—whence came such an enormous necropolis to so small a city? but answered by the fact, that history records 60,000 men having perished before its walls, during the memorable siege of Solyman.* The ancient town is com-

* In the year 1308, the emperor Emanuel, upon the expulsion of the knights from St. Jean D'Acré, made them a grant of this island, which they continued to possess until the year 1522, when, after a glorious resistance, the grand master, Villiers, was compelled to surrender it to Solyman. The knights then retired, first to Candia, and afterwards to Sicily, where they continued till the year 1530, when Charles V. gave them the island of Malta.—*Egmont and Heyman.*

pletely fortified, and the works are of enormous strength, combining the defences in use both before and after the general introduction of gunpowder. Among them, and scattered over the town in different places, are numbers of marble shot, the largest I ever saw; several that I examined were above twenty inches in diameter. These were generally thrown from machines. Indeed I do not know the place that can afford the traveller a better specimen of the defensive architecture of the fifteenth century than Rhodes.

The bazaars are small; and, though from its admirable position, with regard to Asia Minor, the security of its harbour, the number of vessels in port, and the apparent commerce of the Marino, we would be led to expect a thriving trade; yet there is little or no business transacted in the town, where the people have a lazy, listless air, that is obvious to the visitor the moment he sets his foot within its walls. Its inhabitants are Turks, with about one hundred Jewish families, (for the long cherished prejudice is still in existence, and no Christian is yet allowed to sleep within the gates;) and the Greeks who have shops, or carry on their trades inside during the day, all retire to their own settlement at night.

Besides the palaces in the Strada Cavaliére, there are several scattered through the town, and the cross of St. John meets your eye at every corner.

Some noble plane trees (*platanus orientalis*) occupy an open space, where are the remains of a splendid house, on the wall of which is a large pannel, with the arms of Old England emblazoned in good relief. This in all probability was the hotel, or place of public resort of our nation, as we know, that independent of their private houses, each of the nations (or tongues as they were termed) who retired here after the crusades had such an hotel.

The Greek quarter is very extensive, but daily becoming deserted, owing to the wretched government of the Porte, the tyranny and exactions of the Basha, and the many opportunities now afforded to its inhabitants both in Egypt and their own country, for displaying the spirit of enterprise that has never forsaken this ancient people even under the most trying circumstances.

I know of no place that offers a fairer example of the mistaken policy of the deewan of Constantinople than the island of Rhodes, and no place that exhibits a clearer and more lamentable instance of its effects; for although possessing within itself every capability of becoming what a bountiful Providence intended it should be—one of the finest and richest islands in the Mediterranean—with a climate suitable to every production that the wants or luxuries of man could possibly require—with a soil fertile, and easy of cultivation—an inland scenery beautified by the monarchs of the forest, and varied by the

mountain and the glade; a position, which for commercial advantages is almost unequalled—and a harbour such as few islands, except Malta, can boast, it is yearly becoming deserted by its inhabitants, daily failing in its trade, and hourly losing even the advantages of the passing visit of a vessel. Although capable of supporting in comfort from 5 to 600,000 inhabitants, the whole population of the island does not amount to above 30,000 souls! And from neglect and want of proper cultivation corn has to be imported yearly; and though the soil is well adapted for the growth of cotton, no more is planted than is barely sufficient for home consumption. In fact, the only exports are sponges, a little fruit and honey, and some timber from the interior, principally for spars and masts, and which costs but little trouble in conveying to the coast.

Whence arises all this? Like most other colonies of the *Sublime Porte*, Rhodes ever remained open to the highest bidder in the diplomatic auction of Stamboul. The governing Basha is appointed yearly, and *pays* for it and the tributary territory of the opposite coast, nominally a sum amounting to about £7,000; but which, with bribes to the different ministers and officials, amounts to nearly £10,000 a year. When the year is out he again puts in his proposal, but even before the expiration of that period, should he not be despatched by poison or the bowstring, he is liable to be and often is removed to afford some more wealthy and intriguing

diplomatist the opportunity of fattening on the fortunes, ravening on the hard-earned pittance, and crushing the spirit and exertions of the wretched inhabitants. He knows that he can only hold it so long as he is not outbid in the market; and (shall we say *wisely*) makes the most of his time. This, it may be said, is all very natural in the man; but none will deny that it is most *unnatural* in the state that can thus "let and farm out" the industry of its subjects. And what is the consequence? The languid, luxurious Turk pays his taxes, exorbitant and usurious though they be—puffs the tobacco from his mouth, smooths his beard and says, "Allah kerim"—God's will be done. But the energetic Greek emigrates the moment he has an opportunity, and quits without regret, the country and the government that would neither leave him the means of comfort nor of sustenance. It is said that this disgraceful mode of governing had been put a stop to by the late Sooltan, and it is enumerated among the number of his reforms. No doubt he wished and willed so desirable an end, and may have enacted decrees to that effect; but have they been carried into effect? I believe very partially indeed; and I have reason to know, that last year the Bashalick of Smyrna, a place of greater consequence, and which, from its being under the more immediate eye of Europeans, the Porte would naturally desire to have its government reformed was held by the same tenure, and through the same intrigues.

The environs of the town are very beautiful; and the face of the country, despite the chilling, withering influence of its government, lovely. Sunny banks clothed with cyclamens which were putting forth the gayest liveries of spring, and sheltered vales where "feathery palm-trees rise," and the perfume of the lime and the orange blossom scents the air, can never lose one atom of their charms, though saddened by the reflection engendered by the knowledge of the canker that for years has sapped the indigenous verdure of this beauteous isle.

Could accommodation be obtained, Rhodes has many recommendations to the notice of the invalid. The temperature, though not so warm as other parts of the Mediterranean, is well adapted to those requiring a clear, thin, bracing air. Indeed, clearness has ever been its characteristic, and was that property which no doubt earned for it the appellation Æthereœa among the ancients. The sky is generally blue and cloudless, and damp fogs are unknown; so that on the opposite coast of Caria, every curve and undulation in its mountain shores are plainly visible. The lowest point to which the mercury fell during our stay was once to 60°. I could not learn that any epidemics peculiar to the island existed; indeed I think experience daily teaches us that islands such as this are invariably more free from such disorders than large tracts of country. The consul informed me that the summer heat does not rise above 80°, and the sirocco is almost unknown.

In fact, what is most to be dreaded is the occasional cold blast blowing off the mountains of Karamania during the winter.

Here I first witnessed the true eastern leprosy: for several unfortunate creatures afflicted with this terrific malady are congregated on the island, and are to be met sitting by the wayside begging. A Greek chief, many years ago, with a feeling and humanity that does honour to the name of Greece, even in her most degenerate state, purchased a small tract of land in the interior of the island, for the purpose of affording lepers a secluded and a comfortable asylum, and thither they come from all the neighbouring places of the Levant, and now form a considerable village about five miles in the interior. As an endemic, leprosy was almost unknown in the island, and so favoured a spot being now used as a place to send the natural outcasts of society to, is another proof of the neglect and wild misrule that has so long contributed to reduce it to its present state of decay.

Although I much desired it, time did not permit me to visit this asylum. The sight would be instructive, though humiliating, as a more miserable condition can scarcely be conceived than that of a human being driven an outcast and a leper into such a place. Owing to a want of cleanliness—a quarantine and due precaution—and its intercourse with the Porte, plague was formerly a constant visitor here; and in the last attack it is said to have taken off nearly a

third of the Turkish population, while the Greeks suffered comparatively little.

I was informed that in the interior there is a village where the great majority of the inhabitants are affected with elephantiasis. It is situated high up among the hills, and the people themselves ascribe the frequency of the disease to the use of the water which they drink coming from a great elevation among the high mountains that rise in the centre of the island. Can this affection, occurring in such a situation and under such circumstances, have any analogy to the *goitre* of Switzerland and Savoy?

The white heron of Egypt is frequently found here, and in winter vast numbers of woodcocks migrate thither from the opposite coast of Karamania, where they remain during the summer in the deep-wooded gorges that occur in these elevated wilds. Flocks of ringdoves fly about the town and nestle undisturbed in the most frequented places. I was astonished at their extreme familiarity, and on inquiry heard that they are held sacred by the Turks; a strange superstition being abroad that they are the spirits of young virgins that have assumed this shape; and that to become thus transferred it is only necessary for any love-sick damsel to make a dark circle round her neck, and repeat certain prayers and incantations, when she instantly turns into a ringdove. Foxes, and a few herds of wild deer are to be met with in the interior. Jays are very numerous, and the coast abounds with

mullet. There are few snakes or noxious reptiles on the island, but in my walks about the town I found numbers of the curiously-mailed lizard of the agama species, the *agama spinosa*, which I am not aware has been heretofore noticed as an animal peculiar to the island.

The ancient harbour is now only deep enough to admit the small coasting craft. Here it is supposed the celebrated Colossus stood, and the remains of some ancient masonry running out into the water on either side of the entrance rather strengthens this opinion. This masonry is cyclopean; no mortar was used in its construction. On the land side it is now submerged, but on that where the harbour is walled off from the sea it rises several feet above the surface, and is a continuation of the ancient breakwater, which still exists. The space between the remains of the two buttresses is from twenty-five to twenty-seven yards. A figure constructed on this, and with its legs spread without straining, would measure one hundred and fifty feet in height, an elevation quite sufficient to admit under it any vessels used in that day.

The Basha and his son visited us, and kindly offered us a piece of timber for a jib-boom, for he possessed the only spars that could be procured here. He was a fat, punchy, good-humoured man, and subject to an evil influence very little known among Mohammadans—ginocracy. His wife is said to be a woman of considerable talent, and it is the

interest of her friends at Constantinople that keeps her husband in the bashalick. She was a widow, and, if report speaks true, exercises over the old gentleman more power than we are willing to assign to the mistress of a hareem. On returning his visit next day, we were received with considerable state. The apartment, like those of most other junior bashas, was large, airy, and furnitureless. His highness sat in the right-hand corner, not cross-legged, but resting on his toes and knees, and took particular pains to hide his feet, the exposure of which he would have considered a monstrous breach of etiquette. A host of attendants served us with refreshments, consisting of sweetmeats, a spoonful of which was handed round to each on a small glass plate—then a tumbler of rose water; after this, another batch of servants handed (kneeling on one knee) first to the Basha, and then to each of the company, amber-headed pipes of the most costly description; and presently the coffee was brought in by one of the most portly, noble-looking fellows I think I ever beheld. The cups were ranged on a large tray along with the coffee-pot; and a magnificent gold-embroidered muslin napkin thrown over all. He stood in the middle of the room, and throwing the napkin with an air of supreme dignity over his right shoulder, poured the fragrant beverage into the cups held by one of the attendants, who presented them to the guests according to his ideas of their respective ranks. His excellency talked a

great deal about nautical affairs, requested permission for his carpenter to measure the Crusader, and stated his intention of having a yacht built *exactly* similar, upon our next visit! He has now a vessel on the stocks which he said he would have launched before we left, to afford us an opportunity of seeing how well the Turks can manage such matters.

With the dress of the Basha and his suite I was any thing but pleased, for it was both unbecoming in itself, unsuited to their persons, and worn with an awkwardness that gave them a most ludicrous appearance. It consisted of wide bag trousers—red, pointed slippers—a long, ill-made, loose bedgown, like a surtout, buttoned to the throat in front, and behind gathered into large plaits by a broad strap, like a soldier's great-coat; and the head covered by a high taboush, which was pulled down on a level with the eyebrows, and at top crowned with a tassel of blue silk floc, in which was twisted a bit of white paper cut in open-work. The troops were dressed much in the same style. I witnessed their manœuvring several times during my stay, and at once perceived their vast inferiority, both in discipline and expertness, to the soldiers of Mohammad Alee. The garrison consisted of seven hundred soldiers of the line, and six hundred artillery. The men were older and of a larger size than the Egyptians.

Along the shores of Rhodes, especially near the consular residences, a phenomenon occurs that is well deserving of attention. You are conducted to

what, at a little distance, appears the usual water-marked beach, of rough gravel and sand peculiar to these coasts, but on stepping on it you are surprised to find it to be one solid mass, hard as adamant, and composed of rolled pebbles, cemented together by a substance which, on being broken, has every appearance of finely mixed mortar of a whitish-grey colour, having its interstices filled up with minute particles of sand. The upper exposed surface has a smooth, mottled appearance, like the conglomerate denominated plumb-pudding stone; and so very close and compact is the whole bound together, that in some of the older formations it takes a polish little inferior to marble.

The delusive character of this great petrified beach is further increased by the number of indentures formed by the ripple of the retiring wave; so that at first sight we might be led to suppose that it was the work of an instant. It is curious that the process of consolidation takes place only where the water reaches, either by the insignificant rise of the tide, or is washed over it by the surf, which is in some places very violent; for where the water does not reach, the gravel is again loose and uncemented. In some places the water has undermined it, and thrown up large masses of the rock upon the shore; and underneath that the gravel is also unconnected. Some specimens which I brought home with me show the binding principle to be carbonate of lime, with a slight trace of strontian.

Captain Beaufort mentions a petrified beach of a similar character on the opposite coast of Asia Minor, at Cape Krio—Phaselis, Selinty, &c. and has well said that "the unwary boat that should mistake it for a common beach of yielding materials, and should run upon it before a following surf, might be fatally apprised of its error."

During our stay, I witnessed a Turkish funeral. The person died in the morning; the body was washed immediately, and in about three hours after it was on its way to the tomb. A number of women had proceeded there some time before, and had ranged themselves at some distance from the grave; and, as soon as the procession approached, they commenced a low howling dirge. The body was carried without a coffin on a rude bier, and, when laid by the grave-side, all the people knelt down, and the Moullah, seated at some distance from the rest, repeated parts of the Kooran. The bier was then rudely torn open, and the remains deposited in the earth, along with a small cake, and a piece of money. It is strange how long this pagan custom has been retained here.

19th. We witnessed the ceremony of launching the Basha's vessel this morning, and a most stirring, interesting sight it was; the whole population of the place had turned out to see it, and the ladies of the viceregal hareem were all ranged along a wall at a considerable distance from the scene of action, and no male ventured to approach where they

were. The prevailing colour of their dresses was yellow. When all was ready, and the slips and ropes were about to be removed, the two principal Moullahs came forward and invoked a blessing on the vessel; and then repeated portions of the Kooran in the chorus or responses of which the whole Mooslim assemblage joined. Many of the people knelt down, and the whole formed a most imposing ceremony. There was also music; one instrument was something between a fiddle and a mandolin, with three strings, not unlike that used at Malta; the other a rude attempt at a bagpipe, being nothing more than an inflated dog-skin, played after the manner of the Highland pipes. The sound produced by these was most intolerable, but the piper endeavoured to make up for the outrage committed on one sense by an appeal to another, and so kept up a sort of wild Romaic dance all the time, which the people seemed to enjoy very much. After the delays usual on such occasions, the signal was given, the post removed, and the vessel slided rapidly down the inclined plane, amidst the shouting of the people, and pealing from the batteries. We returned to our breakfast, and bid adieu to Rhodes about twelve o'clock that day.

Owing to baffling winds we did not reach the opposite coast till sunset, when we beat through the narrow entrance of the harbour of Marmorice. The coast around this opening is truly grand; the mountains, many of which are of a conical figure,

rise in bold curves from the water's edge, and all are more or less wooded with pines, heaths, and arbutus. So narrow is this strait, and so high the rocks that shut out this basin from the open sea, that we were totally unprepared to meet the noble sheet of calm water that met our eye on entering this noble land-locked gulf. The mountains that surround Marmorice are higher, more wooded, and have a greater appearance of vegetation along their sides, than those that skirt the coast. At the northern extremity of the bay is the town, a small place consisting of a jumble of flat-roofed houses, huddled together without order or regularity, and without streets, unless the dirty lanes that lead from house to house, can be so denominated. These dwellings rise in terraces to the towers of an old castle, probably of the time of the Crusaders or Venetians, which crowns the peninsular rock, on which the village stands. Mean and inconsiderable as it was, yet, in that wild and lonely region, amidst the Alpine scenery that surrounded it, and the lake-like sea that washed its base, it reminded us of the small towns of Switzerland or the Tyrol, and had rather a pleasing and picturesque effect. We anchored about half a mile to the west of the town; not wishing to hold communication with the natives, or approach closer to the place, in which we had been informed at Rhodes, that plague had recently broken out. Our appearance seemed to cause no small bustle and excitement among

the inhabitants. At night, when a light sparkled in every window of the town it had a pretty effect; but as soon as it became dusk, the most deafening serenade was set up by hundreds of frogs, in the marshes and shrubby plains, in our immediate vicinity; and they kept it up with much spirit during the greater part of the entire night, interrupted occasionally by the mournful howl or sharp bark of the jackal prowling along the shore. Upon visiting this place next morning, I found that our annoying friends were the tree frogs,—*rana arborea*, numbers of whom swarmed in every bush. They are small, and of such a beautiful light green colour, as to be with difficulty distinguished from the leaves that surround them. The toes of this species are longer, less webbed, and have a small viscous spongiole at each extremity to enable them to climb with the greater facility. The membrane beneath the throat is flaccid and expansible, and swells out to a great extent when the animal utters its peculiar note. In the morning we rowed to the shore, and landed to the westward of the town, in a lovely valley of great extent, divided into neat enclosures, containing corn fields, some orange groves and vineyards, and intersected by streams of crystal water; the banks carpeted with verdant turf, or shadowed by willows, rhododendrons and oleanders. The almond tree was clad in the delicate pink mantle of its early blossom; jays and rollers chattered in the bushes; and as the warm

sun called forth the young energies of created nature, we felt for the first time that it was spring. The Scotch fir and stone pine which grow upon the hills, attain a considerable size, and are principally used as ship timber, and these with the brushwood which is used for fuel, form the trade that this small place has with Rhodes and Kastelorizo. Most of the inhabitants have summer-houses in the lovely dells and valleys that occur among the hills, and though but rudely constructed huts, they were beautifully situated; shaded by carobs and acacias, and bay trees, some of which were the largest I ever beheld. Many of these bowers command a prospect, whose equal—for mountain, wood and water, forest glade and smiling valley, snowy peaks and grassy knolls, waving pines and enamelled turf—is only to be found among the scenery of Switzerland. Several of the Turks (principally old men) were enjoying their pipes in the entrance to these retreats, and did not seem altogether insensible to the charms of nature that surrounded them. Small black cattle, fat-tailed sheep, and flocks of Syrian goats we met upon the hills. The inhabitants are all Turks; an athletic, well made, handsome race of men, who dress to great advantage, wear broad turbans, and are armed with long guns, daggers, and pistols. Those whom we saw did not wear beards; and numbers were engaged out of doors cultivating the land, contrary to the general report of travellers, who affirm that the women are employed in such laborious occupa-

tions, while their lords and masters are hunting or enjoying the ease and luxury of a Tchibouk. The females whom we met in our rambles appeared unusually cautious of encountering the unhallowed gaze of a Christian, for not only did they cover up every feature except one eye, but they invariably stopped and turned away their faces until we passed by. As far as we could observe, the people seemed quiet and inoffensive, and totally different from the character given of them at the time of the visit of Sir Sidney Smith's squadron, the sailors of which, it is possible, may have earned for themselves the inhospitable treatment mentioned in the works written about that period. On the evening of the second day we weighed anchor, and took up our station in the south-west angle of the bay, behind the island that forms the western barrier of its entrance.

21st. We had a night of great severity; it froze so hard that there was ice on all the neighbouring fresh water in the morning; the wind keen, and blowing from the north-east, which, as it passed over the higher range of the snow-clad mountains of Karamania, rendered it very annoying. To the west of the island is another valley, still more beautiful than that we visited yesterday, though not quite so extensive or so cultivated. It has a fine pebbled beach, descending almost as perpendicularly as that at Madeira. The sides of this valley are formed of precipitous rocks, that lead up the highly wooded moun-

tain side, and gradually narrow into a mere mountain pass at its upper end. Two streams abounding with eel and grey mullet, meander through it, among low woods of myrtle and dwarf oak; the former were the largest I ever beheld. Woodcock were plenty in the copses, but although the lower part of the plain is marshy, snipes were very scarce. Towards the upper end is a village of about a dozen circular houses, with flat roofs, formed by boughs of fir trees, covered over with clay. Bees seem the principal stock of the inhabitants of this village, and apiaries abound every where; the hives are formed out of the hollowed trunk of a palm tree, closed by a circular piece of wood at either end, resembling small casks; and are placed in rows, one over another, under sheds, some of which contain above twenty hives. The people find a ready market for their honey at Rhodes, from whence it is forwarded to Turkey; it has a peculiarly wild but not unpleasant flavour. The bee is held in great veneration by Mohammadans, and is spoken of in the Kooran as "a sign unto the people that understand." The mountain limestone extends all along the north-west side of the bay, with serpentine appearing in some places at the water's edge. The eastern side has a reddish volcanic appearance, but from the quantity of brushwood it is difficult to ascertain its geology with accuracy. The hills are difficult of ascent, owing to their exceeding steepness, the quantity of loose stones that are put in motion by the attempt,

and the closeness of the brambles; but the view from the summit is superb, embracing the numerous bays, creeks, and islands along this varied and beautiful coast, as well as the inland country, which consists of a succession of mountains similar to those surrounding the bay; wild, rugged fells without a trace of cultivation, but with forests of enormous timber too massive and too far distant from the coast to be turned to any account by the dwellers in these regions. At an elevation of eight hundred feet I found the splendid *erica mediterranea*, growing in great luxuriance, and perfectly white with its fragrant blossoms, that perfumed the air with a scent like that of meadow sweet. It here attains the height of eight or ten feet, and forms a belt along the hills at a height of about five hundred feet above the sea level, and forms altogether one of the most magnificent decorations that the vegetable world affords these Alpine regions. It swarms with thousands of bees, and seems to be their principal food. I remarked that the bees, having finished their repast upon its flowers, flocked to drink at some of the many rills and miniature cascades that trickled through the rocks before proceeding homeward with their store. The *arbutus andrachne*, then in full flower, was also plenty at this elevation. Bears and wolves are reported to inhabit these parts, but it was not our lot to encounter any of them. Here, and still higher up the mountains I found numbers of land tortoises (*testudo græca*,) several of which were

upwards of eighteen inches in length, and were busily engaged in rooting for their food among the stones and decayed vegetable matter. This the animal does with great adroitness, with its horny snout; but if it wishes to raise a stone that is too heavy for its snout it withdraws the head, and placing the anterior end of the shell against it, converts itself into a lever, by raising and pressing forward with the hind legs; or finding this ineffectual, it converts itself into a battering ram, and knocks at it with great force till it overturns it. I have watched these curious animals for hours, and have been astonished not only at the extraordinary strength but at the instinct displayed by them. The male and female can be at once distinguished by the recurved lip or prominence at the posterior edge of the *carapace*, which is characteristic of this species, being more marked and turned downwards in the male as well as by the hacked and broken edge of the anterior part.

Of the ruins of the ancient Physcus said to be in this neighbourhood, I could find no trace except it could have been the following:—Upon a small mound in a thicket near the shore of this valley I stumbled over the remains of a building whose foundation is now nearly covered up with shrubs of myrtle and mastic. Here were pieces of broken marble, a fluted doric pilaster and a portion of a frieze of white marble, on which were still visible three triglyphs, and on the intervening metopes the Greek word ΣΩΙΚΑ, the last letter of which is placed

just where the stone is broken off. In the neighbourhood of this were some remains of more modern date, probably of the Genoese or Venetians. Of the pillar discovered by Dr. Hume upon the other side of the bay I could gain no tidings; but in the Turkish burial-ground adjoining there is the shaft of a white marble column, in length about four feet, used as a head-stone, and alongside of it a rude Tuscan capital, on which, however, there is the cross of St. John; but this may have been carved on it at a period long subsequent to its original construction. This graveyard, which is situated in a most romantic, lovely spot, is not of a character with those usual among Mohammadans, for the graves are simple barrows, without the stone-work at top. I may here remark, that burial-grounds are among the first places the antiquary and ruin-hunter should visit; for whether it be that the odour of sanctity still remains about them, or that they are usually upon the site, or in the vicinity of ancient places of worship like the round towers of Ireland, I do not know; but there will generally be found the indications of ancient ruins if any such exist.

Not hearing of any cases of plague in this district, we became emboldened to hold some communion with the natives; and as a relief from salt provisions, procured a fat-tailed sheep,* which, how-

* The tail of one of those sheep will weigh as much as six or eight pounds, and often much heavier than a quarter of the same animal. Although when fresh this is not very palatable food,

ever, was passed through water on our receiving it. There is a very general opinion throughout the Levant, that passing any substance through water clears it from all infection.

July 24th. We sailed out of Marmorice, and coasted to Karagatch, distant about ten miles, by water, but separated from it by a sandy isthmus of not more than a mile. The hammer-shaped peninsula, that spreads over the southern margin of these two noble bays, was, in all probability, an island at no very remote age, and resembles in its character the rest of the coast, with bold cliffs, overhanging rocks, fringed with fir-trees and vast natural caverns, into which the sea rolls with terrific fury; and the reacting swell from them is perceptible at a considerable distance from the spot, where it is generated.

Karagatch is still a finer bay than that we had left; for though fully as land-locked and as well protected, it is better suited to vessels of a larger class, being more easy of access, and having within it several small sheltered nooks that afford secure riding for the smaller craft. Here also the mountains rise abruptly from the water; in some places wooded from their base to their summits, and opening out into verdant vales with rivulets running toward the sea. At its distant extremity a point of

yet when salted, it is delicious, being of a substance much resembling the hump of the bison. I remarked that in all the fat-tailed sheep, there was scarcely a vestige of the suet or adipose substance that surrounds the kidneys in the common kind.

land separates two broad basins of calm water. The western one of these is surrounded by a very extensive plain, the greatest part of which is marshy and covered over with sedge, tall reeds, and brushwood. A considerable stream of clear water, having a sandy bottom, empties itself into the sea by a number of mouths at this point, and as it forms many windings, and rushes over several falls, it forms a pleasing object in the landscape. It was filled with tortoises and numbers of small fish; kingfishers of several kinds were very common along its banks. I shot the white egret; the nuthatch was in every tree, and woodcocks were plenty, but there were very few snipes. We procured some coarse sponges from the people, who report them to be plenty in this bay. None of the timber grown here is of a size sufficient to make a stun-sail boom. The common arbutus grows on the hills, also the lime and the plane tree (*platanus orientalis*), which latter is, I find, used in a manner that I was not before acquainted with. In the spring or autumn it is stripped of its bark, which is pressed in a rudely constructed machine, placed between two trees, and by a board at top and bottom acted on by a long lever so compressed that it exudes a kind of yellow resin somewhat like Burgundy pitch; this is used as incense principally by the Greeks.

Heaths are numerous, laburnums were coming into blow, and the scarlet anemone and blue crocus gave presage of the returning season. With

the climate of this place we were much pleased; at ten o'clock at night the thermometer on deck was 63°; the highest point marked at this hour since we entered the Mediterranean.

On one of the neighbouring headlands is a remarkable geological formation :—next the sea is a stratum of green stone on which rests a band of precious serpentine, and over both occurs a grey marble, which at one point is let down like a dyke between them, thrusting aside the strata and contorting it in a very singular manner. In the retired and sheltered parts of these bays, the green, shining serpentine is distinguishable at a considerable distance, but opposite the entrance, or where the wind plays with great force against it, it has become partially decomposed, and has assumed a brown, crumbling appearance.

There is no modern town within this bay; the few stationary inhabitants residing in scattered cottages, and living as woodcutters and hunters. The wandering tribes of Turcomans that are still to be found in Asia Minor frequently resort hither with their flocks, which consist of sheep, kine, and goats. These they drive wherever pasture suits, or convenience prompts them to settle for a time, living in temporary sheds or tents formed of dark brown stuff and of the rudest construction. A small community of these people were encamped in one of the adjoining dells. Dromedaries of a fawn colour were not uncommon here, and buffalos were in great

numbers. The young buffalo is, without exception, one of the most uncouth creatures I have ever met.

Having been informed by the natives that the woods in our vicinity contained bears, leopards, jackals, and wild boars, a hunting excursion was planned for the 26th, on the morning of which great was the preparation on board; guns, pistols, cutlasses, boarding-pikes, and tomahawks were put in requisition, and battle, murder, and sudden death vowed against the Feræ of the neighbouring mountains. Sailors love a frolic, and care not whether it be the riding of a jackass or the baiting of a lion, so that fun, excitement, and personal hazard are connected with it. Formidable was the array we made, and no doubt a cause of admiration to the simple natives who met us on the shore; the armed men were posted at the passes, and the beaters set to work in the wood; great was the noise and tumult; every thing that had life, large or small, was doomed to destruction; whole volleys were discharged, and running fires kept up with much spirit against hares, woodcocks, and waterhens. Bullets and small shot whizzed and peppered on all sides, front and rear; Jack called to his comrade and was answered in an unknown tongue by a Turk; sheep and goats were mistaken, and in one instance suffered the fate of wild beasts. The scene was one of considerable interest, and not without personal danger, not from ravenous animals, but from the fire of some worthy tar who wanted to *have*

a shot, no matter when, where, or at what. Of the animals we came to destroy, none such were seen; so, late in the day we sounded a retreat and called in all stragglers, who, wet, bruised and torn, but not disheartened, plied the supple oar, and soon sent us dashing over the blue waters to our wooden home.

These scenes, though apparently irrelevant to our subject, are necessary, in one form or other, to the life led on board ship, and, accidents excepted, contribute in no small degree to the comfort, health, and happiness of a sailor, who is debarred from sources of amusement that landsmen can avail themselves of daily.

We left Karagatch on the 28th, intending to proceed to the Gulf of Glaucus.

CHAPTER III.

ASIA MINOR.

The Gulf of Glaucus—Macri—Its Scenery—The Modern Town—Its Inhabitants—Unhealthy situation of the place—Telmessus—Its Tombs—Barrows—Stelæ—Pillars mentioned by Josephus—Inquiry into the origin of Pillars—Found in the British Isles—Their different uses—The Soros—The Tomb of Helen—Sarcophagi peculiar to Asia Minor—A Warrior's Tomb—Rock-carved Sepulchres—Regal Mausolea—Their Facades—An ancient Temple—Remarkable form of its Roof—Reflections upon Tombs—The Theatre—Description of its Ruins—Acoustics of the Ancients—Cyclopean Prosceneum—Magnificent prospect of the Spectators—Surrounding Scenery—The Grecian Drama—The charms of Travel—The Soothsayer's Cave—Baths—Dromedaries—Climate—Classic Authorities upon Telmessus—The Isle of Cavaliére—Bay of Kalamaki—Kastelorizo—Its Town and Harbour—Navy—Cyprus—Limasol—The Cyprian Wine—Unhealthy condition of the Island—Sail for Syria.

MARCH 1st. We sailed for Macri, in the ancient Gulf of Glaucus. As we proceeded eastward, the coast became bolder; and owing to its greater exposure, it is less wooded. Within this deep gulf the scenery becomes quite changed; here there are none of the valleys, the rivers, cottages, and cultivated spots that surround the smaller and more western bays. The mountains rise to a greater elevation, many of their more distant summits are in the region of perpetual snow, and the whole

aspect of the country has been well described as that of "gloomy grandeur."

We found this great arm of the sea much more extensive than we had anticipated, or than the charts and maps we had seen could have led us to suppose, being from twelve to fifteen miles in depth, with its entrance wide and very much exposed. As the wind fell and the night began to close in upon us, we were compelled to anchor in fourteen fathoms water, to the westward of the point that forms the north-western barrier of the bay, in which are situated the ruins of Telmessus; to examine which, was the object of our present visit. A heavy swell sets in here from the open sea, and yet, that there is a current setting *outward*, I can have little doubt, both from the information I obtained from the people, and the fact, that several Greek boats which passed during the night, were carried southward without a breath of wind to fill their canvass. The temperature of the different bays along this coast varies considerably, owing to the position of the mountains in their vicinity, and here the height of those around caused us to feel the cold very much. Next morning we towed the vessel round, and lay a short way off the town of Macri.

Dr. E. D. Clarke has said, with great truth, that "there is no part of the Grecian territory more interesting in its antiquities, than the Gulf of Glaucus. The ruins of Telmessus are as little known, as they

are remarkable in the illustration they afford with regard to the tombs and theatres of the ancients." His labours have done so much to elucidate these ruins and antiquities, that future inquiries must of necessity partake more or less of the character of commentaries upon his work.

The approach to Macri is strikingly grand, and strongly impresses the beholder with an idea of the refined taste of the people who chose it for the position of their city; for the scene combines all that nature can bestow to charm the senses and adorn the landscape. A broad sheet of water, broken with many islands, and forming bold curves, and sheltered basins, is bounded on the south by a range of hills, whose sides are channelled by columnar rocks, which, rising in broken and irregular masses, form at the top a sharply defined outline; in some parts, partaking so much of the castellated form that one is almost disposed to believe they are the effect of the line, the plummet, and the chisel. In other places, they are fringed with pines, which, owing to the excessive clearness of the atmosphere, are distinguishable from their stems to their topmost branches. Upon a gentle slope, between those mountains and the sea, stood Telmessus, and to the north-east of the bay extends a vast marshy plain, through which a considerable stream winds its tortuous course. Beyond this plain, bounding three of its sides, and stretching far away into the distance, rise the lofty mountains

of Cara, the lower and adjacent, wooded to their tops, the higher and more distant, tower into the regions of eternal snow.

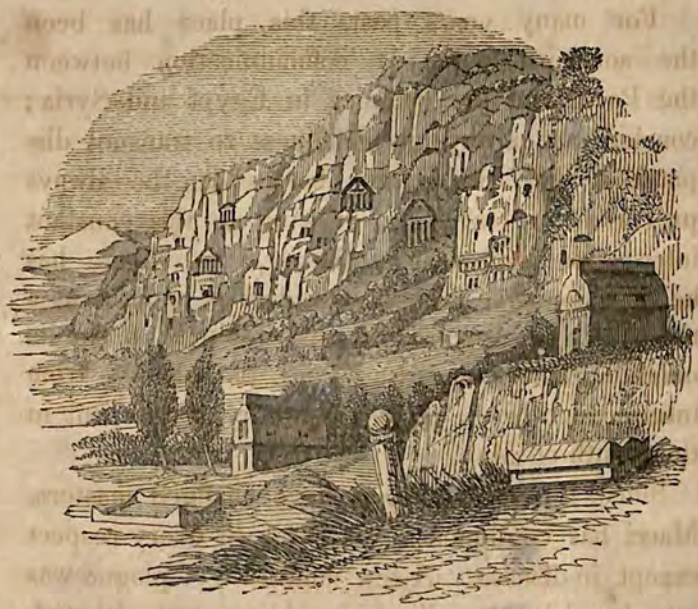
At the distance of more than a mile from the shore, the southern hills present a remarkable appearance, as if studded with rows of yellowish white spots, which, upon a nearer inspection, develope the contour of porticos, and the facades of temples, but which, on examination, prove to be the celebrated rock-carved sepulchres of this ancient Doric colony. The modern town is a collection of miserable houses, huddled together without even an attempt at regularity; it stands upon a low point of rock, and is, in fact, partly surrounded by the ancient walls. It is well supplied with pure water, which springs out of the rocks in several places, and is distributed through the town.* Macri is included in the Bashalic of Rhodes; it is governed by an Aga, and its inhabitants are now mostly Greeks. Some of the females whom we met, were noble looking, but had the sallow aspect produced by the unhealthy situation of the place. The only peculiarity in their dress, consisted in three large silver clasps, which confined the boddice over the bosom. This ornament is common all over the country, and is a remnant of the ancient Greek costume. Salt is procured here by enclosing sheets of shallow sea-water, which, in dry weather evaporates, leaving a crust of salt on the sand similar to that at lake Mareotis. In one of these ponds, at

the period of our visit, were innumerable grey mullet, which the natives spear with great dexterity; and thousands of water-fowl abound on these lagoons.

For many years past, this place has been the southern point of communication between the Porte and her colonies in Egypt and Syria; couriers are always in readiness to transmit dispatches, and camels and horses can be always procured for travelling. Owing to this constant intercourse with Constantinople, the village has been seldom free from disease for six months at a time. Plague generally lurks within it, or in its neighbourhood; and it suffers periodically from intermittent fever, which generally breaks out in the month of May.

Since Egypt and Syria have changed masters, Macri has continued to decrease in every respect except in disease. A few months ago, plague was introduced by some Turkish soldiers, and, although no case had occurred lately within the town itself, a small village, about four hours' journey from it, had been nearly depopulated. The place had a most forsaken look at the time of our visit; and the extreme quiet that prevailed, with the surrounding tombs and ruins, and the paucity of its inhabitants gave to it a most dreary and desolate appearance. Its exports are inconsiderable, and at present consist of timber, tar, salt, and honey; but even these have decreased very much of late.

Around Macri on all sides are the remains of the ancient Telmessus; we commence with the most remarkable—its tombs.



These here present a mixture of the Asiatic and Egyptian, the Persepolitan and modern Grecian. The greater number of them extend over a rugged valley to the east of the town, but numerous detached soroi are scattered on all sides. History records no spot that contains so many different forms of tombs, or that affords such opportunities of studying the modes of burial practised by the ancients; for, with the exception of the pyramidal we have here nearly every species of sepul-

chre, from the simple mound of earth or barrow to the elaborately wrought mausoleum carved in the living rock. They may all be classed under four heads. First, we have the simple grave or barrow, formed by a mound of earth heaped over the body of one or more persons. That this primitive form of interment was that adopted by man I think there can be little doubt. When man was expelled from Eden, and the curse passed upon his posterity, it was said that he should return to the ground from whence he was taken; and the first written record of a grave is that erected over Deborah, whom Jacob buried under an oak in Bethel. Among many of the early nations, especially the Greeks and Romans, a certain degree of disgrace was attached to the exposure of a dead body; and when such was found it was incumbent on the passers-by to throw three handfuls of earth upon it, and by this means a tumulus or barrow was formed. It is remarkable that this custom has been preserved even up to the present day in Ireland, where in cases of murder, sudden or unnatural death, the peasant stops, crosses himself, and throws *three* stones upon the spot;* which in a short time is accumulated

* So rooted is this superstition among our peasantry, that on a murder taking place some years ago near a small market town in the west of Ireland, a police force had to be placed on the spot to prevent the demesne wall of a clergyman from being levelled to furnish the necessary material.

into a tumulus, thousands of which still exist in different parts of that country.

Of the ancient barrow mode of burial we have numerous instances in Greece, Siberia, Russia, Malabar, the British isles, in North America, the Steppes of Tartary, and particularly wherever the Celtic nations settled, as well as in the lava mounds of Grand Canary, and upon a large scale in the memorable monument of Marathon. Although none such exist here, yet, under this head may be placed the *Cairn*, of which so many instances occur in almost every country of the world.

The second kind is the *stele* or pillar, placed either as an addition over the barrow, or without any mound or elevation of the ground; these are numerous and without ornaments or inscriptions. The headstones in our graveyards are such, and as it is a sepulchral monument in most extensive use every where, some inquiry as to its nature and origin may not be irrelevant to our present subject. If we believe the authority of Josephus, the children of Seth, the son of Adam, were the original constructors of these *pillars*, two of which were formed by them; one of brick, the other of stone, on which they inscribed their own discoveries in astronomy, &c., and the predictions of Adam as to a deluge and a conflagration. Both of these, the historian says, were emblematical—that of brick being removable by water—while the one of stone would only yield to the power of flame. This last was

reported to have existed in the land of Syriad or Syria even at the time when the Jewish historian wrote; but it seems more than probable that Josephus has in this case jumbled names and dates, a fault frequently found in that great writer; for Seth, the son of Sesostris, the very originator of pillars, erected many such in Syria for reasons enumerated by Herodotus. Pillars were also set up as a witness. Lot's wife looked back on Sodom, and she became her own sepulchral monument, a "pillar of salt." Jacob "took the stone he had used for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil on the top of it," thus consecrating it an altar; and this practice we can trace through the classic nations, even to modern times; for at the consecration of Roman Catholic houses of worship in some countries they anoint the altars, door-posts, and pillars. The first mention of it as a funereal emblem is that over the grave of Rachel. The patriarch Jacob erected another pillar to bear witness to his solemn covenant with Laban, and directed his brethren to gather stones and make an heap. Now the Hebrew גל *gal*, which is here translated heap, properly speaking means a *circle;* and this circle was, no doubt, placed round the pillar. From this fact, we naturally revert to the remarkable stone circles found in the British isles, at Stonehenge, Grange, and Aubry; and here also the pillar alone is found, as in the case of the curious pillar of Rudstone; and several such are found in Ireland under the

name of giants' finger stones. That after a time these funeral monuments were made in the likeness of some object, and adored, would appear from the command of Moses that the Jews should not erect any such, as they might lead them to the practice of idolatry. At the farewell exhortation of Joshua he set up a great stone under an oak in Sechem, for a witness or memorial, as it heard all that was said. The Nasamones swore by laying their hands on the tombs and pillars of eminent persons; and in like manner the famous pillars of Jachin and Boaz, in Solomon's temple, were not only ornaments, and had many mystical meanings, but were afterwards used by the kings of Judah, who "witnessed" (standing by them) to any solemn covenant that was made. Numbers of such stelæ have been lately dug up in the ruins of ancient Athens, corresponding to those at Telmessus, and representing an ancient Hebrew rite.* Pompey's pillar was most likely a sepulchral monument. The Samians inscribed the names of eminent men upon public columns; and pillars were placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth with the names

* As to what relation the round towers of Ireland may bear to the oriental pillar I will not take upon me to say, as a work is now in the press which will no doubt treat upon that subject. And those who may wish to be further informed upon this interesting topic should consult "An Essay upon the State of Architecture and Antiquities previous to the landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, by Miss L. C. Beauford," published in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xv.

of diseases, and the remedies, prescribed upon them.

The third form of tomb is the soros or sarcophagus; and of these there are many varieties; one kind is the Cyclopean prototype of those to be met in every English churchyard, and consists of an oblong, square chamber, formed by four stones placed upright, and roofed by an immense slab. Some of these flags are flat, others raised into a ridge in the centre, and several of them that I measured were ten feet eight inches long, by nine feet nine inches broad. The entrance is at the end; and on the right hand side is an inscription, that usually written by the ancient Greeks, being a recital of the name of the person buried within, by whom the tomb was erected; and imposing a fine to the state, and also imprecations of the wrath and vengeance of the infernal deities, on all disturbers of them. Beneath this chamber is another smaller vault of stone, in which the body was placed. The upper apartment may have been used as a place of mourning for the friends who we read occasionally resorted to such places for that purpose. Many of these upper chambers are of such a size that whole families of the poorer inhabitants have taken up their abodes within them, and others are converted into donkey stables and are filled with filth and rubbish. The tomb of Helen, a woman of Telmessus, situated in a small enclosure by the sea-side, near the town, which, from its inscription, Porson consi-

dered to have been built two thousand two hundred years ago, belongs to the class I have now described.

The second variety of soros is a form of tomb of great elegance and beauty, and seems to be peculiar to Asia Minor; none of this kind having been as yet found in any other part of the world, except two or three in the valley of Waddy Mousa. It consists of a sarcophagus of one solid stone, raised upon a pedestal, and having a roof like that of a trunk lid, ornamented with a ridge at top, and knobs jutting out on either side. The knobs, independent of their ornamental character, may have been used in raising these massive stones into their present position. There is also in these an upper chamber serving the purpose of a *cenotaph.*

Some of these monuments are entirely formed out of single blocks of stone; limestone bolders, which for ages occupied their present position, and which the Grecian artist took advantage of for hewing into tombs. These had their entrances at the end, the stone doors of which moved up and down in a groove carved within. When either the repository or the top was a separate piece no such opening was required, as it was raised on the pedestals after the body was placed within. Some of these monolithic monuments are placed upon the rugged, unhewn rocks, others have their situation in corn fields and enclosures, and form some of the most picturesque objects that I have ever seen. There are inscriptions on several, but greatly

defaced; and others have groups of figures embossed upon the sides, representing death scenes and groups of friends mourning at the last farewell. In several of these entablatures the principal figure is represented sitting, and with an outstretched hand seems to be in the act of admonishing the others, who stand in a row with the right hand holding a napkin or part of the drapery applied to the eyes. There is one of these tombs so very extraordinary that I cannot refrain from briefly describing it; as it is by far the most interesting of this kind, both from the beauty of its construction and the position which it at present occupies.

This, which was, in all likelihood, the mausoleum of a warrior, has several boldly designed and well executed bas-reliefs upon its panelled sides, representing battles, horsemen, and chariots. It is not unlike the marble tomb at Xanthus, lately drawn by Mr. Fellows,* but in a state of much *better* preservation. The pedestal of this stood upon

* While these sheets are passing through the press, the very elegant work of Mr. Fellows upon Asia Minor has appeared, in which he has established the topography of some of the ancient cities in this country, and drawn with great truth and fidelity several tombs of the kind that I have described as existing in Lycia, at Xanthus, Antiphellus, and other places. It will also give much pleasure to all lovers of antiquities to learn, that at the suggestion of the trustees of the British Museum, one of the principal tombs at Xanthus is about being removed by the government to this country. It would be well if those employed upon that object, were to take a look at the warrior's tomb at Macri.

a square platform, but it now leans very much to one side, having been shaken by an earthquake, which has shifted some of its parts out of their place. This monument, which was certainly erected on the shore, is now upwards of thirty yards from it, and the sea covers at least two feet of its base! Beside it, to the west, ran the ancient city wall, part of which, of a quadrangular form, still exists.

There are two subjects connected with this monument that also claim our attention; the first is the positive proof that it affords of land and water having changed their relative positions in this part of the Mediterranean, but whether this change is caused by the rising and encroachment of the one, or the sinking of the other, is a question that will be considered when discussing that interesting topic in connection with the ruins of ancient Tyre. The second subject is the possibility of having the monument removed to England. From its being composed of many pieces; and being placed within the reach of a boat, it could be with great safety carried out to one of our men-of-war that make a summer cruise to these parts, and thus conveyed to England. This is well worthy the attention of those who have the power to do so; and so very little labour and expense would attend it, that I feel assured it could be placed within the walls of the British Museum for £20. But to return from this digression—the fourth and most magnificent form of tombs are those hollowed out

in the face of the rocks, that form the base of the mountain that completes the back ground of this picture to the south-east; and which form such conspicuous objects entering the harbour, owing to the lime-stone, in which they are hewn, being stained yellow by a fluid of that colour, which exudes out of the rocks above. Some of these tombs are carved with consummate art into the resemblance of the fronts of houses, having panelled doors and bearing a striking similarity to those of Petra. They are found in groups or clusters, and were probably appropriated to particular families. Each has before it a square platform approached by a flight of steps, and, at the entrance to which, originally stood a small gate. In some of those cut in the detached rocks upon the plain of the necropolis, there was an ante-room for the mourning visitors; and also in the top of the sepulchral chamber was an aperture through which to pour the libation. On the panels were inscriptions; and on one I found a tragic mask, probably indicating the occupation of the owner. Terraces led from one set of tombs to another. Three of these mausolea so far exceed the rest in splendour, that I am led to believe they must have been those of the Telmessian kings; and for elaborate workmanship and beauty of effect, they are acknowledged by all who have seen them, to be among the most extraordinary specimens of their kind. These are placed in the most inaccessible

places on the face of the mountain, and are now entered with some difficulty. The front of each is a portico, consisting of two Ionic pillars and two pilasters twenty feet high, supporting a pediment. Behind this is carved a handsome door of the same height as the pillars, and composed of four panels, the stiles and cross-bars studded with large headed bolts. The entrance was through the lower right hand panel, which moved in a groove at the top and bottom; but the present entrance to most of these, is by one of the other panels which has been broken through long since. With such accuracy was this door fitted in, that you cannot distinguish in which compartment it was placed. The interior is a square apartment, with a raised bench, on which the bodies were placed, running round three sides of it, measuring ten feet by eight in length, and six feet six in height. The fronts of these tombs were evidently made to resemble temples; many of the simplest of the Grecian temples being fronted by a similar portico, or what is termed in technical language "in antœ." These temple-faced tombs bear a close analogy to the Indian, the Persepolitan, and the Syrian, while those without porticos partake more of the Egyptian and the Edomite character, of which the type is found in the cave of Machpelah, although some of the mausolea in Idumea are temple-faced, as mentioned by Job, who was probably a contemporary of Abraham. A first view of some of the facades is curious; the lower

end of some of the pillars have been broken off to supply a neighbouring lime-kiln, but being an integral portion of the rock, the upper part hangs from the architrave like an enormous stalactite, as shown in the wood-cut above.

The light gray lime-stone, out of which all these

excavations are formed, is similar to that in the bay of Symi; and some portions of it being hard and others soft, the atmosphere and sea air have acted on the latter, and given the whole a rough, and if I may be allowed the expression, a *pockmarked* appearance. It is these that have caused the obliteration of many of the carvings, inscriptions, and embellishments, of the many hundred sepulchres in this vast city of the dead, whose streets and squares are only tombs. I could not discover a single sepulchre which had not been broken into and rifled.

Clarke has drawn attention to a singular ruin, presenting externally the form of a solid cube, and standing on a sloping bank near to the shore. This my friends and I examined with great care. In his (Clarke's) time, this quadrangular building, the stones of which are of immense size, was only entered by a narrow chasm produced by an earthquake. It has since, however, undergone considerable dilapidation, evidently from a similar cause, and now affords a better opportunity for examining its structure. From out to out, it is twenty-five feet four inches square; the walls being four feet five inches in thickness. The stones of which it is composed are of great size, bound together with cement. I state this because Clarke supposes no such building material was used in its construction, and his mistake arose from the cement being washed out of the joinings, but the

increased dilapidation it has suffered since his day, has fully disclosed such to have been used. This fact should not, however, detract from the age of the building, as some of the oldest specimens of architecture in the world have mortar in their walls. On entering, we found a circular arch occupying one half the thickness of the wall on three of the sides; in the remaining side, which faces the mountains, the entrance is placed. This doorway extended to the roof, and its enormous lintel is still in *situ*. The roof of this building demands attention; it was formed of stone, and when standing, must have been a very splendid piece of architecture, being domed with vast stones put together so as to represent a piece of mail-work in the interior. It was thus constructed: at each corner was placed a large slab that rested on the angle of the side walls, and projected inward, the inner edge being a segment of a circle, with the convexity toward the centre, and this edge was also grooved. Four similar stones placed over the arches filled up the spaces between these corner ones. Eight slabs of a like form, but somewhat smaller, were placed over these which they overlapped, their joinings meeting in the centre of the lower ones. Another course was placed above this, and so on till they approached at the top, when one stone closed the aperture. All these gradually decreased in size to the centre. The four lower corner stones, besides resting on the walls, were supported underneath by a portion

of the mason-work that projected inward, in the same manner as that found in the modern mosques, at the point from whence the dome springs. Although, somewhat different in style and finish, I found a similar form of dome in the pyramid of Sackara, formed by one stone projecting within another; and it has a similarity to the beehive dome of the Tomb of Agamemnon at Mycenæ,* where the type is preserved, though it exhibits a different appearance; this being by far the most rich and elegant of that kind. Here we find it in connection with the *arch*, although it is said to have been of a different era. There were no means of admitting light to the interior of this building, which the learned antiquary, from whom I have already quoted, considers to have been a sepulchre. That it was such I will not deny; but I am inclined to think that it had a religious use also, and was a temple of very ancient date; temple-tombs being now generally acknowledged to be among the most ancient places of worship.

This extended inquiry into the character of tombs in general, and the description of those of Telmessus, may, to many of my readers, appear a

* The similarity in the construction of a rude dome, formed upon the principle of that at Mycenæ, has been pointed out by my esteemed friend Mr. George Petrie, at New Grange, Co. Meath, Ireland. Several such forms of domes and arches are also found in both the military and ecclesiastical architecture of that country.

dry and uninteresting subject; but have they never beguiled an hour in Westminster Abbey, or St. Paul's, or alone and unobserved, stole into the country church-yard at twilight's close, and sat amidst its grassy mounds and modest unpretending gravestones, or if they have not, let them read Gray and Hervey. The antiquary, the historian, the philosopher, and the naturalist, will find in tombs relics of the past ages, exhibiting obscure customs and mysterious classic allusions, and traces of extinct races of mankind, and ceremonies connected with the religion of the age and country, in which such races lived. Similarity of modes of sepulture also affords proof of identity of origin. No effort of man's hand has survived so long as the trophy raised to the King of Terrors; and our immortal dramatist has truly said, that the gravedigger's houses are the most durable, for "those he builds last till doomsday." But far distant though the day since crowned by the garland of the Grecian maid, and distant though the day till woke by the cry "Resurge," there is still a warning voice to all that bids us

> Pass with melancholy state,
> By all these solemn heaps of fate,
> And think, as soft and sad I tread
> Above the memorable dead;
> 'Time was, like me, they life possessed,
> And time shall be when I shall rest.'

A castle and fort whose walls are still in very tolerable preservation, occupy the summit of an

eminence, lying about half a mile to the S. E. of the present village. Seen at some distance it strongly reminded me of the old Moorish castle at Cintra. It consists of an outer wall at some distance down the hill and a citadel at top, flanked by several square and octagon towers still standing; on the land side the rock is perfectly inaccessible. Two distinct eras are marked in the walls of this place, the lower part of which is of ancient mason-work, and built with enormous stones. The upper part is of more recent date, and was probably built by the Venetians or Crusaders; the other was certainly built at a much earlier period, but there is no date or inscription to determine the exact time.

As we neared the shore upon the west, our attention was arrested by a pile that bore a great resemblance to the druidical remains of Stonehenge, but which, on examination, we discovered to be the enormous portals of the *prosceneum* that fronts the *coilon* of a theatre, which, though not quite so extensive as some such other Grecian edifices, it is in point of site and surrounding scenery inferior to none. This theatre was partly built, and partly hewn out of the rock in a sloping hollow of the mountain, which here partakes of an amphitheatrical form. It is divided by a stone flat or corridor, nine feet in width, into two sets of seats, having thirteen rows in each. The two lower seats have been covered up within the last thirty years. Each

of these seats were twenty-two inches broad, and twenty high, and the face was curved so as to form about one half of a Norman arch, in all probability constructed, on the principle of acoustics, so as to render the voice of the actor more audible throughout the coilon. We know that the seats of many other theatres were so constructed; and that vases or hollow vessels (Ηχεια) were also placed under them to produce this effect.

This edifice is in a state of wonderful preservation, and measures in front of the proscenium one hundred and thirty-one feet, to which is to be added the breadth of the seats at the widest part. The stage can still be traced, with the scene behind it formed of that cyclopean work before alluded to; the enormous portals of whose doors excited our highest admiration. In most Greek theatres this scene represented the front of some palace or stately edifice; and in some instances, as at Herculaneum, a villa, or country seat. In them the central doorway, only entered by the principal actor, was called *basileon* by the Greeks, and by the Latins *valva regia;* the smaller one upon the right hand side, being appropriated to the second actor, and that to the left by those who took the minor parts. This basileon measures sixteen feet by seven, and is formed of five stones, two for each post, and one at top, which is ten feet long. The intervening wall between these doors no longer existing, adds very much to the effect. Two other and still smaller

entrances have been enumerated; but I conceive they could not have belonged to the proscenium, but must have been used as doors to the lower tier of seats, and probably entered only by the aristocracy. Outside these portals are the remains of a platform, evidently the *parascene;* and beneath this are seven arched entrances that led into the *thymele* or pit, that is now filled up with rubbish and overgrown with bushes and luxuriant vegetation; which, though we may regret for the sake of scientific inquiry, yet rather adds than subtracts from the romantic and pictorial beauty of the place. The corridor dividing the seats was entered by an arched passage, partly cut through the rock, and corresponding to the *peristile* or lobby, and the seats themselves were intersected by rows of steps, crossing them diagonally from right to left, called *klimakes*, which allowed the spectators to ascend to the upper rows; and not by ladders, as some have supposed.

The prospect from this theatre is one of the grandest, the most sublime, and exciting that I have ever witnessed; and though much fatigued by six hours' groping among the tombs, it lost none of its powerful effect upon me as I rested on one of the upper seats, while my companion, Mr. Meiklam, was making the sketch of what Clarke has described as "one of the most perfect specimens which the ancients have left of this kind of building; for by the plans of Grecian architects the vast operations

of nature were rendered subservient to the works of art."*

This theatre, unlike our modern ones, had no roof, but a canvass awning or *tectum*, stretched across the top, shaded the people from the effects of the sun, and allowed the eye to wander over the extensive view that formed the vast natural scenery of the piece.

Different, indeed, is the effect produced by the painted daubs that modern art has rendered necessary to convey an idea of scenic beauty. Here the foreground was a real palace of huge dimensions, beyond which appeared the calm waters of the bay, with numerous craft, passing and repassing upon it. The towers, the tombs, and temples of the city rose upon the right, and to the left the picturesque island of Cavaliere. Across the blue waters was a smiling, fertile plain, rich in vineyards, corn-fields, and meadows; the flocks and shepherds on which required no propping from a scene-shifter. In the rear of the spectators, the heaths and myrtles, on the well-wooded mountain, perfumed the air; and far in the distance rose one of the most glorious scenes that an artist could possibly compress into a picture; the Carian mountains, placed beneath a sky of intense clearness, which allowed the beholder to trace the transition from plenteous vegetation along the gentle slopes at their base, to

* See Frontispiece to this Volume.

that of perpetual snow upon their summits. It is a landscape which would almost repay the trouble of going thus far to see. How different the luxuriant revelling and midnight waste of time and health indulged in by the moderns, from the healthful pastime of the ancient Greek, enjoyed in the open day, when listening to the strains of Thucydides or Sophocles, from the mouths of actors such as Æschylus and Aristophanes. Such comparisons, such recollections, and such excitements it is that constitute the charm and consolation of travel, and clothe with beauty every ruin of the ancients. Such are the sources of excitement which Lord Byron, who experienced them in all their power, has stated to be (next to ambition) the greatest in existence; and he felt how sweet it was thus to sit, wrapt in the mantle of antiquity and broider the golden web that fancy weaves till the glorious tapestry of the past curtains from our view the ills and crosses of the present.

> Then 'stay, illusion, stay a while,
> 'My wilder'd fancy still beguile;'
> But no—'it may not be; it will not last,
> 'The vision of enchantment's past:'

for Telmessus, like many a scene in civilized life, while it delights the eye, gratifies the mind, and leads captive the imagination, bids the traveller hasten from its pestilential environs, for plague lurks in its streets; the plains teem with miasma, disease and death are floating around, and the

desolation that has for centuries prevailed, still marks it a NECROPOLIS.

Before we leave this place we must refer to one more memorable spot. To the left of the theatre a flight of steps conducts from the water's edge to a large grotto twenty-one feet in breadth, vaulted over head and rudely cut out of the solid rock as represented in the accompanying vignette.

This grotto is supposed to have been a soothsayer's cave. The upper third of the back wall was hollow, and contained a small chamber, into which, with some difficulty, I climbed. Originally the front of this was closed up, and the partition wall so artificially plastered that it appeared a continuation of the solid rock. From this it is considered that the answer of the Sybil, concealed behind it, was returned to the inquirer beneath. This

recess does not occupy, as Clarke supposed, the whole of the upper third, but only one half of that space. However from the hollow sound of the partition wall upon the right hand side, I am inclined to think that there is a second chamber behind it also. That the lower half of the wall is solid we can see from a large chasm recently made in it. How the oracular priests had access to this, it is at present difficult to say. This I may remark, that on examining it I found several apertures like air holes, leading upwards, cut through the rock, exactly similar to those that exist in the chambers of the large pyramid where jugglery of the same character may have been enacted. The further exploration of this cave would prove highly interesting, and is well worthy the attention of future travellers.

Several other caves occur along the shore; and numerous tombs, besides some low buildings with groined roofs, probably minor temples. Between the theatre and the town is a perpendicular rock, whose face has been smoothed with great care; in it are rows of holes, like joice-holes in modern houses, as well as several apertures carved into the form of fire-places. This place I consider to be the remains of an ancient bath.

The dromedaries here are smaller than any others that I have seen, and are covered with a coat of long, shaggy hair, with black tufts under the chin, on the forehead, and at most of the joints, no

doubt to protect them from the cold which is here at some seasons intense.

We perceived a manifest difference in climate, even during the two nights we spent here, which were piercingly cold. In the mornings a noxious fog or fen-damp rose from the marshy valley, which did not clear off till ten o'clock in the day. It has been noticed that the air is generally tainted in the vicinity of ancient cities, owing to the water becoming stagnant in the places where fountains, aqueducts, and streams have been choked up with ruins; but it is the total neglect of cultivation, and the advance of the sea, that have created this swampy plain. Besides these causes, there is at Telmessus, a variability of temperature, even during a single day that is highly detrimental to health, by the keen winds blowing at certain seasons from the lofty mountains, exposing the inhabitants to sudden chills a few hours after they have been suffering under intense heat.*

The island of Cavaliere, which forms the break-

* Telmessus was celebrated for wine and augury; but it is to be regretted that although mentioned by many of the ancient classic writers, such as Strabo, Pliny, Lucan, Herodotus, Cicero, Livy, Arrian, and others, they merely refer to some passing event that took place there, and do not give any regular description of the city itself or of its kings. Aristander, the celebrated soothsayer of Alexander, was a native of Telmessus. Herodotus relates, that in the days of Crœsus, serpents filled the land about Sardis, and the horses left their pastures to feed upon them; on which that monarch sent to Telmessus to inquire of the priests

water to the bay of Macri, is a long, irregular piece of land, lying N.·E., S. W., completely covered over with ruins of buildings which once belonged to the Knights of Jerusalem, and the Genoese, and Venetians. The principal of these were forts, chapels, and houses, combining both dwellings and places of defence. After visiting it we got under weigh and sailed out of the gulf, intending to proceed at once to the island of Kastelorizo.

Patera we passed next day, but though perfectly visible to us it blew so hard that we were unable to land; the coast still decreased in beauty and fertility; the mountains barren, and the shore in many places resembles the desert, especially about the mouth of the Xanthus. The storm increased in violence, and toward the evening of the 4th, we entered the bay of Kalamaki, said to be the port of Phœnicus. Nothing could be more cheerless and gloomy than this place, of which so very little

concerning this prodigy, the interpretation of which was, that, as the serpent was produced from the earth the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy; and that a foreign army was about to attack Crœsus—matters turned out in accordance. The origin of the city may be the following:—Telmessus was a son of Apollo, by one of the daughters of Antenor, whom he endowed with the power of interpreting prodigies. This gift descended to her son, who was buried under the altar of Apollo in the city of Telmessus, of which it is probable he was the founder. (For further information see *Larcher.*)

is known. On all sides the mountains rise in perpendicular cliffs from the water, which is here of great depth. The darkness was fast closing in upon us, and our situation was any thing but enviable. We could find no anchorage; there appeared no trace of human beings; and the white line of foam that marked the entrance told too plainly of the storm that raged without. Again and again we were on the point of quitting its inhospitable shores, and seeking *safety* in the raging sea without: at length we found bottom at ten fathoms, and cast anchor for the night.

A few Greek peasants had settled on the rocks near where we lay; they seemed to be in a most miserable condition, and all they could afford us was a little goat's milk. The beach, at the extremity of this bay, is petrified similar to that at Rhodes.

At day-break the weather moderated, and we continued on our course, and arrived at Mais or Kastelorizo, so called from its modern appellation of Castel Rosso or Red Castle. This place is about eighteen miles to the east of Kalamaki. It is a bold, rugged, and perfectly barren rock—rising in perpendicular cliffs to a height of 800 feet above the sea—a block of gray limestone that has received a reddish tinge from traces of iron scattered through the crevices of its strata. The day was well suited for viewing the peculiar loneliness, and extraordinary situation of this island, if

such it can be called. The wind still blew fresh, accompanied with heavy showers, and a drifting mist at times softened the outline of its fantastic form, and gave it a somewhat fairy-like appearance as it revealed its sides, rising out of a mass of boiling water that foamed and tumbled round its base. But barren and inhospitable as it looks, it has upon its north-western side, opposite the coast, one of the most secure and valuable harbours (at least for coasting craft) in this part of Asia Minor. The entrance to it is narrow, and it is protected on the north by a high peninsula, on which the town stands, while a high mass of rocks shelters it from any wind that might reach it from the open sea to southward. This harbour is so deep, that, although there is no artificial pier, the vessels are ranged close along the shore, and reached by a single plank from the landing place! Two or three stunted sickly olives were the only vegetables on this island; whose sole wealth consists in its beautiful little harbour and its healthy, but comparatively cold climate. The town is, to all appearance, very miserable; the houses low, flat-roofed, and running in parterres that rise above the water. The highest point of the peninsula is surmounted by a picturesque old castle, built by the Knights of St. John after their expulsion from Rhodes.

I was taken to visit a new church, built by the Greeks since the battle of Navarino. This engagement, though it may have been regarded as an

"untoward event" by some statesmen, and has been considered as contrary to the laws of nations by a certain class of diplomatists, was an action that the outraged laws of God and humanity loudly demanded. It led, undoubtedly, to the establishment of the independence of Greece, and has done much towards improving the condition of the Greek people every where, and making them more respected by the Turks, even at this distance from their country. The roof of the church, which was just finished, is supported by some of the splendid rose-coloured granite pillars brought from the ruins of Patera; and, although I regretted their removal, as causing a great and wasteful spoliation of the ancient edifice, yet, I could not help asking myself, who had as good a right to its remains as the descendants of the men by whom it was built. The building is fitted up with considerable taste, and is not devoid of architectural beauty. It shows that there is an increase of wealth, as well as a revival of the arts among the Greeks; and also discovers a degree of toleration on the part of their Turkish lords. The population of the island is estimated at 8,000, mostly Greeks; there being only about ten or fifteen Turkish families in the place, who are all engaged in trade. The island itself produces absolutely nothing, and the most trifling necessaries of life are received from the opposite coast, but owing to its fine harbour, its trade is yearly increasing. It had then a navy of seventy

vessels, which were in good trim; and several new ones were on the stocks. Each inhabitant has an interest in the welfare of the place, and the sailors have a share in the vessel they navigate as well as of the cargo. The trade is principally in wood cut on the neighbouring coast of Vathy and Sevedo, made into charcoal, and transported to Alexandria; and also in sponges. Some vessels are in the carrying trade of this part of the Mediterranean; and here we found the pilgrim's flag hoisted on several barks which were laden with cargos of devotees hastening towards the Holy City. Several of the Greek vessels were under the Russian flag! The island pays at present a tribute of about £400 a year to the Basha of Rhodes.

The people seem to be an industrious persevering race; the women and children were pretty well clad, and had a healthy appearance; another fact confirmatory of the opinion that islands are far more favourable to the promotion of health than continents. The inhabitants are never attacked with the fever that yearly ravages the opposite shores; and though their communication with infected places is very extensive, plague has seldom appeared in the island. A British consular agent resides here, though but few English vessels ever touch the island.

We left Kastelorizo on the 6th; and being favoured with a fair wind, we made the eastern point of the island of Cyprus next day, and con-

tinued coasting along its undulating shores, under stunsails, till the evening. The weather had improved, and now all was sunshine. Some parts of the scenery here are very beautiful; the ground is pleasingly diversified with hill and dale; and in other places, the headlands present a white chalky appearance, not unlike Dover Cliffs, from between which, occasional glimpses of the distant Mount Olympus are obtained. We "brought up" in an open roadstead off the town of Limasol, which is situated upon a low bank of sand, with a surfy beach before it. It has little calculated to interest the visitor, except the minarets of its mosques, that rise into lofty spires covered with tin; and which have a pleasing effect when gilded by the beams of the setting sun. A large plain stretches to the east of the town, and behind it is a range of barren hills which are by no means picturesque. A quarantine of three days was imposed upon us here, on account of our having touched at Macri; and this rendered our situation uncomfortable, as there was a heavy swell in the sea, caused by the gale that we encountered off Kalamaki, which had not yet subsided. The principal trade of this place is wine, of the fame of which we had heard much; and to procure some of it, was one of our reasons for visiting the island. The accounts generally given of this wine are either very much exaggerated, or those who have given these coloured statements, must have acquired a vitiated taste that

few Englishmen would desire to possess. Mix honey, vinegar, and tar, with brandy and water, to the taste of a Cyprian, and you have this much esteemed beverage of the Levant; and if you wish to prepare it for Greece, add a certain portion of resin; or for Spain or Portugal, put in the same quantity of anise-seed. Strength and sweetness are the qualities looked for; and the tarish flavour which it possessed, I found to arise from its being kept in large unglazed earthen jars, which, to prevent filtration, are coated on the outside with tar. There are two kinds of this wine, red and white. It is carried from the country into the port in skins, as at Madeira; but of its mode of preparation the merchants engaged in the trade are totally ignorant, and they generally dispose of it as soon as possible.

We found Limasol to be but a poor place. Its streets are, however, broader than those of most oriental towns. An old castle at the entrance, mounts a couple of long brass Venitian guns of the date of 1543. The population is mixed, and consists of Greeks and Mohammadans, who have all (particularly the women) a wan and sickly look, that at once discovers the influence of malaria. There is no place upon the coast of Asia Minor where fever is so prevalent as this. It continues the entire three months of summer, and we are told, that those who may have suffered from it previously, are still liable to its repeated attacks. With some it

85682

remains though in a more modified form during the whole year, so that the place can never be said to be entirely free from its influence; and when I visited the consul, both his wife and child were just recovering from a fit of ague. On my recommending to some of the inhabitants, to seek a higher elevation during the time in which the fever is most prevalent, they smiled, shook their heads, and said, that they were perfectly aware of the propriety of following my advice; but that they had been accustomed to it from their youth, and, as it seldom caused death, they were unwilling to lose the chance trade, of which they might be deprived, by a summer's residence in the mountains. None, even of the better classes, remove from the place, but remain, preferring to suffer this intermittent from year to year, to a removal to a more healthful situation during its continuance. The men seem a slothful race, and the women, as far as we could observe, bore no resemblance to their great progenitrix.

On the 9th, we left Cyprus, and sailed for Syria.

CHAPTER IV.

SYRIA.

Beyrout—Quarantine—Rise of the Sea—Silk Manufactory—Proceed to Jaffa—Lebanon—A Storm—Tyre—Appearance of the Place—Inhabitants—Present Condition of Tsour—Comparison of its Ancient Grandeur and Merchandise—Author's desire to Visit it—Questions proposed for Inquiry—Position of the Peninsula—Water Tower—Whence, its Supply—A Remarkable Rock—The Aqueduct—Marshuk—Its Cistern and Water Works—A Threshing Instrument—Discovery of Ancient Tombs—Their Position—Historic Sketch of the Several Cities of Tyre—Its Earliest Mention—Chronology of Sir I. Newton—Palæ Tyrus—Its Antiquity—Siege of Salmanazer—Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar—Building of Insular Tyre—Besieged by Alexander—Prophetic Fulfilment—Its History up to the Introduction of Christianity—From that to the Crusades—Probable Site of Palæ Tyre—Opinion of the Count de Bertou—Derivation of the word Tyre—Definition of Palæ—Position of Ancient Cities—Sepulchres—Aqueducts—The Modern Town—Its Population—Remains of the Insular City—Rise of the Sea—Harbours—Submerged Ruins—Discovery of the Dye-pots—Fountains of Solomon—Departure from Tyre—Caipha—Zoology—Proceed to Jaffa.

MARCH 10th. We arrived at Beyrout, as we understood that vessels would not receive pratique at Jaffa, for which we were bound. The authorities here finding that we had come from Cyprus, informed us that we could not land on any part of Syria without performing fourteen days' quarantine; but having the privileges usually granted to vessels of war, it was reduced to nine, including our pas-

sage, the day of arrival, and that on which the quarantine expired.

The establishment of quarantine laws and regulations is one of the recent reforms effected by the Basha of Egypt throughout his dominions, and has been already attended with the most salutary results. At Alexandria a board of health, chiefly composed of the European consuls and medical men, has been some time in operation, and it regulates the amount of quarantine to be performed by vessels in all the other ports under the government of the Basha; but at the same time I have reason to believe that it is often made an excuse for gratifying a political hatred, as the different governors at these ports will often inflict a longer quarantine on ships coming from any port belonging to the Sooltan, even if no disease existed in those places, than on the vessels of any other country. It is, however, a wise precaution, and the reason assigned in our case I considered a fair one:—that although there may not have been any disease at Cyprus, yet that vessels arriving there from Constantinople, which is seldom without sickness, are not placed under sufficient quarantine. We were permitted to proceed toward Jaffa on our parole that we would not come in contact with the natives till the expiration of our time—a treaty we were fully as willing to observe as the governor of Beyrout could possibly desire.

Beyrout is a lovely spot, and is now become a

place of considerable importance, being the principal seaport of Syria. Our position afforded us a very splendid prospect of Mount Lebanon and the snow-clad heights of Ante-Lebanon, rearing their heads above it in majestic grandeur. The town is embosomed in gardens which were then bursting forth in all the bloom of early spring. Several old castles, remnants of the Crusaders, stand at the landing place; one of them opposite the Lazaretto, is now completely washed by the sea, and though a dark and gloomy tower it has a pleasing effect. An examination of the ground around this building will show that it once stood upon the mainland; thus affording another proof of the rise of this part of the Mediterranean; or if the land has sunk (as some have asserted) it must have been very gradual indeed; as had it been produced by an earthquake or a sudden submersion of the ground, some traces of their effects would be visible on its doors and windows. The greater part of the landing-place is a pile of granite and marble columns, formed into wharfs; and which were probably the remains of the ancient Beritus. Behind these the town rises in terraces, through which peep vines and orange trees; and the surrounding plain is a continuous grove of olives and mulberries, studded with the villas of several wealthy residents. Beyrout offers many inducements to the travelling invalid, or to families desiring to visit Syria; and would, I doubt not, form a pleasant and healthy winter residence for

such persons. Its climate is moderate and subject to less change than either Algiers or Alexandria; and the vicinity of mountains affords the means of varying the temperature. There are many European residents here; and there is constant and direct communication with England by trading vessels and the government steam-boat, which arrives at Beyrout once a month. With Egypt there is daily communication; Balbeck is but forty miles distant; the interesting country of the Druses is just in its vicinity; and a visit to the cedars of Lebanon forms an entertaining excursion to the tourist; and the cave of St. George a pleasant morning's walk. The principal export of this place, and it is very considerable, is silk, but though acknowledged to be of a superior quality, none of it finds its way into the English market. The greater part is sent to Marseilles; and although this place is an entrepot for a large quantity of our manufactures, principally hardware and printed cottons, into Syria, and by Damascus even to Persia, we receive nothing in return; and our vessels, three of which were here at the time of our visit, were going to Alexandria for cotton. All this arises from a trifling circumstance that a few pounds, and a little trouble on the part of our silk manufacturers, could remedy: the winders or reels on which the silk of this country is wound are smaller than ours, and consequently the hanks do not answer our machinery.

How simple the remedy for this!—by sending out machines suited to our manufactures.

A heavy swell rolls into this open roadstead, so we hove anchor on the evening of the 11th, intending to coast to Jaffa.

There is the appearance of a large population along the shores and hill sides about Beyrout; and several picturesque villages, with their patches of cultivation, mosques and marabuts appear among the scattered groves. A light breeze off the land kept us on our course. Presently the moon rose in the most gorgeous splendour; the night was exceedingly mild and calm; and the stillness and strikingly grand scenery of all around was most imposing. The range of Lebanon which runs parallel with the coast for some distance, raised aloft its dark fantastic form, and threw the broken outline of its summits into strong relief, as the orb of night sailed slowly and majestically on her course; now casting the lower hills into shadow, and now glistening on the pearly coronets of snow that cap the topmost peaks. Our vessel seemed to glide almost imperceptibly through the placid waters; and as she rose and fell with the gentle undulations of the subsiding swell, and all was noiseless except the rustle of her cutwater, it required but few touches of the romantic to conjure up the idea of a phantom ship, undirected by the hand of man. Even the hardy sailor appeared stricken; forgot his hour of rest, and gazed in silence on the scene; for it was one

of those absorbing pictures that by the depth and vigour of their colouring, and the associations connected with their locality, enchant and fix the mind, as by a magic spell, and leave it more tranquil than before. For myself I found it impossible to sleep during the early period of the night, and so remained on deck till near two o'clock in the morning, when we passed Sidon, which has of late years received a kind of minor celebrity, from its being in the vicinity of the residence of that extraordinary and eccentric woman, the late Lady Hester Stanhope.

About four o'clock I was suddenly awoke by a concussion of the vessel, which lay over so much that I was nearly tumbled out of my berth, with a noise of rushing waters, straining spars, flapping ropes, and howling winds on all sides. One of the sudden squalls to which this coast is exposed had commenced, and reached us but a few minutes before, barely giving us time to strip the ship to bare poles and ropes. Studding-sails lay unfurled, and sheets were uncoiled, upon the deck, where every soul was now congregated, some almost in a state of nudity, and all in utter consternation at the extraordinary change that had taken place over the face of nature in so short a time; for now all was black, black night; sweeping tempest and boiling surge; I cannot call it waves, for the water was comparatively smooth, so instantaneous was the first burst of storm. So black a sky

I never beheld; and could one spot be said to be darker than the rest, it was in the east, to which all eyes were now turned; for every minute this black cloud seemed to open in the centre, and thence shone out a blaze of vivid light that appeared to give us a momentary glimpse into another world; from whose refulgent portals were hurled the sheets of fire that skimmed along the deep, brightening in their transit every nook and cranny of the vessel, and throwing a lurid glare upon the anxious faces of us all. And when this cloud closed all was darkness as before. Often have I sat and gazed with admiration on the lightning's flash; but here I confess my feelings were those of awe, nay, absolute fear. The thunder was not so loud as I have heard it on land, probably from the absence of echo. For some short time the scene was truly terrific; and when every thing that skill and seamanship could suggest was done, and that each renewed gust of wind sent our bulwarks under the water to a fearful depth; and when our schooner righted but to bound forward without a stitch of canvass through the foaming brine, we had only to let her run and trust to the guiding hand of Him who

> "—— plants his footsteps on the sea,
> And rides upon the storm."

Presently the rain fell in torrents, and pattered like hailstones upon the deck; and after about an hour the fury of the hurricane abated, and the wind lulled, as if from sheer exhaustion at the effort it had made.

March 12th. The weather cleared somewhat at day-break; but still the effects of the gale left the sea literally white with foam. The motion of the waters was not the regular measured swell of the ocean, but they were tossed and tumbled about as if moved by some hidden force beneath their surface.

We endeavoured to continue on to Caipha, but, on passing Tyre, the wind again headed us, and we were obliged to put back and seek shelter within the reef of rocks which runs parallel with the shore, and forms the northern roadstead. The sea broke with great fury over these rocks, the tops of which just appear above the water; and whether placed there by nature or by art, were once the breakwater to the northern harbour of Tyre. The swell, however, though checked, was not arrested by them, but, leaping the barrier, continued on, though in diminished strength, into the basin.

Before us lay the present Sour or Tsour upon the peninsula; and, though appearing to exhibit much more of life, and a greater number of houses than we were led by accounts to expect, yet it, as well as every thing around, wore an aspect of dreariness and desolation.

The ruins of the old church of Paulinus; some tottering walls towards the shore; a few ancient towers that mark the time of the Crusaders; a white-domed mosque; a few unconnected houses jumbled together on this sea-washed rock; and rising over

all a couple of waving palms, whose plumy tops seemed to mourn over the surrounding desolation, were all the objects that presented themselves to the traveller, of the once proud, and still celebrated, city of Tyre. The shore is low and sandy, and on its edge lay the wreck of a vessel half sunk in the oozing sands—a more appropriate and painful object could not possibly have presented itself, to remind us of the splendour and the ruin of human enterprise. On the distant plain could be distinguished the remains of the ancient aqueduct, as well as several bands of Bedawees, mounted on their camels, slowly pacing onward to the desert. Shortly after our arrival, the British flag was hoisted from the roof of one of the principal houses, and continued so during our stay.

13th. Although we still continued in quarantine, the governor allowed us to land and examine the ruins, accompanied by a guardian, to see that we did not endanger the health of the city by touching or coming in contact with any of the natives, a surveillance we had not the slightest objection to, and one, *we* were much more willing to obey than he was to enforce. It was remarkable, that one of the first objects which caught my attention on entering the small boat-harbour, was a large net hung out to dry on one of the adjacent towers, the ruins of which still exist in the remaining portion of the Cyclopean wall that surrounds the north side of the town—even at the present day, "the

top of a rock—a place to spread nets upon."* A crowd of the inhabitants were collected at the landing place, and the British consular agent came forward to welcome us and offer his services. He is a Christian of the Latin church, and was dressed in a red striped silk gown or cassock, (the beneesh,) a flowing fur-trimmed cloak with wide sleeves, and a most sumptuous purple turban. The people, who are mostly Greek or Latin Christians, were all dressed *a la Turk*, but much more tastefully than any we had seen since we left Egypt. Their turbans were particularly full and bold looking, and their wide Memlook trowsers, and party-coloured cloaks, gave them an air of respectability we did not expect to find amidst so much apparent wretchedness.

As an Irishman, I felt no small degree of interest on first touching the mother-land, whose colony we claim to be. But when I looked around, and beheld its prostrate columns, its crumbling walls, its deserted cothon, where once the greatest of mercantile navies floated in security; when I saw a heap of wretched houses rising without order or regularity from out the mounds of surrounding ruins—here, perched upon the remains of some mouldering tower; there, sunk within the walls of a tottering church, and where the threatening scowl of the swarthy Bedawee frowned on us as we

* Ezk. xxvi. 14.

paced through the vacant streets; I asked myself, was this, indeed, the joyous city whose antiquity was of ancient days; the mart of nations; the strong city of Tyre; the daughter of Sidon; the sister of Boœtian Thebes; the mother of Carthage; the correspondent of Egean; which pushed her colonies beyond the pillars of Hercules, even to the isles of the west; the city, whose merchants were princes; whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth; whose silver was heaped up as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of its streets. Where every precious stone was a covering, the sardius, the topaz, and the diamond; the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper; the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle. Whose ships were constructed of the fir trees of Senir, the cedars of Lebanon, and the oaks of Bashan; and the benches of which, inlaid with ivory, the company of the Ashurites wrought out of the box-wood of the isles of Chittim; and whose Sidonian mariners, with the sons of Arvad,* and Gebal, spread forth the sail † of the fine linen of Egypt, broidered with purple and scarlet, from the isles of Elisha.‡ Whose walls were manned by the Persian; and in whose towers the Gammadians

* An island in the Persian Gulf, sometimes spelled Arpad. See note to page 126, also mentioned in Gen. x. 18.

† Supposed by commentators to mean the flags, or perhaps, it may mean the awning or covering to the triremes.

‡ Supposed to be Elis, or Hellas, a port in Peloponnesus, from whence some of the shells were obtained that formed the dye.

hung the shield and the helmet to perfect its beauty, and set forth its comeliness.* Whose merchandise consisted in silver, iron, tin,† lead, and vessels of brass; and whose wares were emeralds,‡ purple, and broidered-work, and fine linen, and agate, and blue cloth, and chests of rich apparel, and the persons of men.§ At whose fairs were bartered, the horses and horsemen, and mules of the house of Togarmuth,‖ with the wine of Heblon, and the white wool of Damascus. Where the merchants of Judah and Israel traded with the wheat of Minnith, with honey, and oil, and balm. Where the gold and spices, and all the precious stones of Shebad, and

* Mr. C. Fellows, in his recent interesting work on Asia Minor, informs us, that he discovered at Perge, the Greek shield carved as an ornament upon the upper part of the walls, and appearing as if hung from the top. This seems to offer a satisfactory explanation of this passage.

† Supposed to have been brought from Cornwall by the ships of Tarshish or Carthage.

‡ Herodotus describes a pillar of emerald situated in the temple of Hercules, which, during the night, diffused an extraordinary light. Larcher thinks this the psudosmaragdus, others, that it was coloured glass, illuminated by lamps placed within it.

§ Slaves. To this may be referred the denunciation against Tyre, on account of selling the Lord's people, as spoken by Joel and Amos; "The children of Jerusalem have been sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from your border." Joel, iii. 6. The Tubal or Tobel here mentioned, as engaged in this traffic, is understood to be a country north of Armenia, peopled by the sons of Japheth, and was then a Greek colony.

‖ See Appendix A.

Barmoth, together with the bright iron, cassia, and calamus of Dan and Javan, were exposed in the markets; and the princes of Kedar, and Arabia, brought rams, and lambs, and goats; and Dedan purchased the precious cloths for chariots in exchange for ivory and ebony. A city, whose commercial glory "went forth out of the seas," and did enrich the kings of the earth with its riches and merchandise.* And whose artificers assisted in raising and adorning the most magnificent temple that ever eye beheld, or hand constructed; a temple worthy of the wisest king, and in which Jehovah condescended to hold personal communication with his creatures.

And why stand I amidst such wretchedness and desolation? "Because, that Tyrus hath said against Jerusalem, Aha! she is broken, that was the gates of the people; she is turned unto me; I shall be replenished now she is laid waste. But the Lord of Hosts hath purposed it to stain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt the honourable of the earth."

Although not one jot or tittle of a single prophecy contained in the inspired volume *has*, or could have passed away; yet, the doom pronounced against Tyre has been so strikingly and literally fulfilled, that the attention of the learned has been more called towards it than to any other place with

* Ezek. xxvii.

which we are acquainted. It was a spot I had long and ardently desired to visit, not that I required to become an eye-witness of its state, to convince me of the perfect completion and fulfilment of all the warnings and denunciations uttered against it, but that I hoped to be enabled, by inquiry and examination upon the spot, to arrive at some degree of knowledge as to the manufacture of its renowned purple dye, and the real animal from which it was obtained. For, although, modern naturalists have enumerated several varieties of shells from which a purple colouring matter *may* be extracted, they are not agreed as to the exact one that was used. And, although, Pliny and others tell us, it was a murex, a buccinum, or a purpura, we are unable to determine the shell, at the present day, by the descriptions handed down to us.

In this inquiry, I hope I shall be fortunate enough to set the matter at rest, both by the *discovery* of the shells used, and of the very pits or mortars in which the dye was manufactured.

I also desired to examine the topography of ancient, or Palæ Tyrus, regarding which, many learned disquisitions have been written, and many opinions expressed; the contradictions in which, are only to be equalled by the conflicting surmises of travellers. The three or four days I spent here examining the ruins, may warrant me offering an opinion on this highly interesting topic, so necessary, not only as a commentary on some of the

LIBRARY OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY

TYRE
ANCIENT & MODERN.

Dublin Published by William Curry Junr & Co 1st January 1840

older historians, but as affording us much light in the study of those prophecies in which Tyre is mentioned.

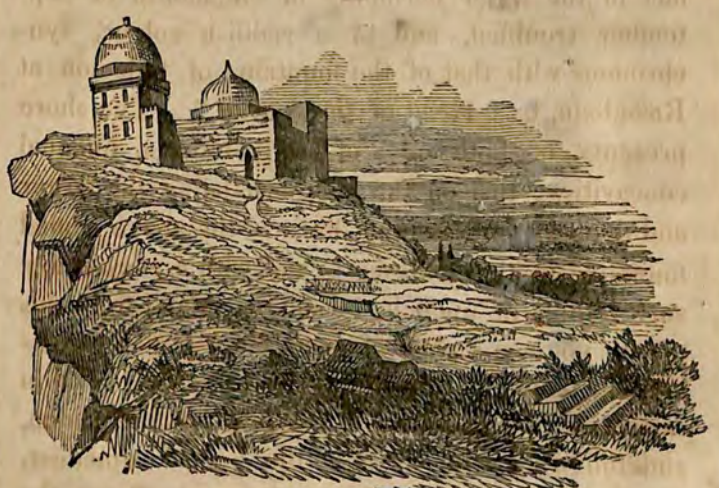
The situation of Tyre, and of the objects mentioned in the following description of the surrounding country, will be clearly understood by the reader, on referring to the accompanying map, and bearing in mind, that the coast runs almost due north and south.*

The present town, or peninsular Tyre, stands of course to the west of the general line of the coast, and is connected with the shore by an isthmus of sand. Leaving the town, and proceeding eastward, you arrive at two square towers, about one hundred and fifty yards from the gate; the first of which is built over a well, from which the principal supply of water for the inhabitants is obtained; and to which numerous bands of Arab women, carrying their pitchers on their heads, are constantly passing. Within is a flight of steps leading to a terrace at

* While examining this place, I made several plans and sketches, with the intention of constructing a map of the topography of the ancient cities upon my return. I have, however, since found, that an accurate survey of the coast has been made by A. H. Ormesby, Esq. by order of the Admiralty; and through the means of my friend, Lieut. Larcom, R. E. I have been kindly furnished by Capt. Beauford with the chart, upon whose outline I have transferred my own plans, as well as the recent discoveries of Count de Bertou. I may also take this opportunity of expressing to Lieut. Larcom my obligation for the facilities and information he has afforded me, in prosecuting this and other subjects of scientific research.

the top, from which there is an extensive view; and, underneath, there is a Khan for the accommodation of those who do not choose to stop in the town, or who may have arrived late at night. This tower is situated on the isthmus, which is now covered, as I have mentioned, with sea-sand, and the water of the well, which is pure and good, cannot rise here, but is, most probably, conducted by some portions of the aqueduct, which still remain pervious, but hidden beneath the sand and rubbish; and this probability is further strengthened, by the fact of the water becoming in the month of September troubled, and of a reddish colour, synchronous with that of the fountains of Solomon at Ras-el-ain, or "Head of the Spring." The shore presents, on both sides of the peninsula, unequal concavities; that on the southern being the larger and deeper, and running down to the above named fountains in the south-east, and with a very heavy surf rolling in upon it. Looking inland from this tower, you see a plain of some miles in extent; its horizon bounded toward the east by the Lebanon range of mountains. On the north stands Sidon, and following with the eye the line of aqueduct, whose broken arches rise at intervals above the sand, a most remarkable object arrests attention:— a solitary mount, of a white appearance, standing above the plain, and crowned by a mosque, a marabut, and one or two old houses, which being whitewashed, glitter in the sun, and attract the

eye almost involuntarily. It is visible on all sides, and from a great distance, owing to the flatness of the plain; and is instantly remarked by the mariner entering either of the roadsteds of Tyre. Let another authority describe it. "This hill," he says, "is not fictitious like those of the desert, but a natural rock, of about 150 feet in circumference, and about 40 or 50 feet in height." * It is called by the natives Marshuk, and from the northern aspect exhibits the appearance of the wood engraving below.



The aqueduct, which is the principal object on

* Volney, who first notices this rock, has fallen into a slight error, in stating it to be only a quarter of an hour's walk from the village. It is distant from the water-tower on the isthmus, upwards of a mile and a half.

the plain, and runs towards the present town from the north-east, has several of its magnificent arches still perfect, and can be seen at a considerable distance at sea; and the water oozing out at breakages, or filtering through the cement, has encrusted them all over with stalactites of a peculiar form, which give them at a little distance, the appearance of being clothed with some gigantic foliage.

The water was conveyed across the plain on these arches in a trough, at the top lined with cement, and forty-four inches in depth. All the arches are not of the same construction, and are, in all probability, of different dates, as if renewed from time to time. The principal of these are seventeen feet in cord, and the buttresses, eight feet ten inches in breadth, by nine feet three in depth.

Where the sand has encroached, as is the case in some places, the arches are completely obliterated, yet, you can trace the stream-way for a great distance throughout. The aqueduct was evidently repaired at a more recent date, when hydrostatics were better understood. A perfectly water-tight tube of crockery-ware, formed of pieces about two feet long, accurately fitted and cemented into each other, is found connecting the broken parts of the aqueduct, or in some places, laid in the stream-way.* The aqueduct runs nearly in a straight line to the north-east, till it arrives at the rock already

* Capts. Irby and Mangles noticed a similar form of aqueduct, connecting the ancient water-course through the city of Petra.

mentioned. This rock, which is about one mile from the nearest point of the sea, is of whitish limestone, sloping towards the north-east, and inaccessible on the south. On the north side, are the remains of steps leading to the top, cut in the solid rock, similar to those in the prophylia leading to the Parthenon at Athens; and from this is obtained a most commanding prospect of the sea and of the surrounding country for a vast distance. At its foot, on the S. and S. E. sides, are the remains of large cisterns or reservoirs, where the aqueduct commences, that runs towards the present town; and to this spot, the aqueduct was brought in as straight a line as the position of the ground would admit, from the cisterns of Solomon, which lie to the southward.

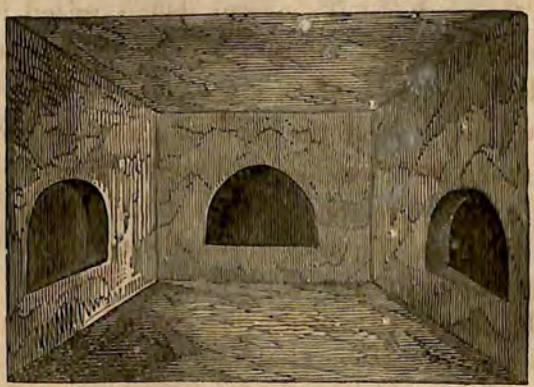
This water-course, after arriving at the rock, was conducted round a third part of its base in a conduit cut through the solid rock; partly bored into a tunnel, and partly roofed over with immense blocks of stone. On getting into this tunnel, I found that it enlarged considerably, and became much deeper than the channel of the aqueduct. It contains a considerable quantity of good and pure water, which supplies the people living in the mosque and in the neighbourhood. It is remarkable, that although it is never known to be dry, there is now no apparent communication between it and the fountains through the remaining aqueduct; and it has all appearance of being a *well* sunk in the place. It

is, on the whole, evident, that this was the main water-work. From the north-western side of this cistern, runs another aqueduct of a smaller size, and of a seemingly modern construction; I should think not more than a few centuries old, if it be even so much. It is supported on rudely formed arches, and extends about half a mile, when it becomes lost to the view. It appeared to us, that it had been formed merely for the purpose of irrigation. In the immediate vicinity of the rock are the remains of a mill,* which was probably turned by the water of the aqueduct in later days, and also the tops or opercula of three large sarcophagi of a pattern exactly similar to those huge flat stones placed over the vaults at Telmessus, being raised into a ridge in the centre, and having knobs at the corners.

Inland, towards the east, the plain becomes more fertile, and was, at the time of our visit, covered with green corn, vetches, and small clumps of trees, together with large bee preserves, the same as those used in Asia Minor. In wandering about here one of our party picked up the headless bust of a female executed in white marble, which from the dress appeared to be Grecian.

* In a vault, which is used as a granary, I saw a most primitive and curious machine, consisting of a large flat block of wood, three feet by four; the under side of this was covered with holes, in which were inserted a number of flints that projected about an inch beyond the surface. This is the threshing instrument mentioned by Isaiah, xli. 15; and the tribulum of Virgil, Georgics, i. 164.

The high road to Sidon passes by this rock; and pursuing it northward for about half a mile we came to a low range of hills which terminated the plain in this direction. These ascend gradually to the more elevated heights of Lebanon. In the sides of these hills I found an extensive series of catacombs, cut in the face of the white sandstone rock of which they are composed; and which, from their colour, cause them to be distinguished at some distance on the plain. The ground about these catacombs is much broken, and is now covered with a plantation of fig trees. The moment I entered the first of these tombs, exhibited in the accompanying engraving, I was struck not only with the



resemblance but the exact similarity they bore to the Egyptian catacombs, especially to those of Sackara and Alexandria. Like them they have a low, square doorway opening into a chamber, varying in size from ten to fifteen feet square, containing three horizontal

sarcophagi or places for bodies, one on each side. The doorway or entrance fills up the fourth side; the whole carved out of the solid rock, which, like that of Egypt, is soft and easily excavated. In another place we found a large circular aperture in the ground, which had around it the entrances to eight tombs. In a third place was an immense deep excavation in the rocks, which we approached by a winding descent. This is nearly as large an excavation as that on Mount Pentillicus, and may, like it, have been originally a quarry for the old city; but in the sides of it are the obvious remains of several tiers of sarcophagi. With few exceptions the doors of all the tombs look towards "the rock." Their similarity to the Egyptian, Grecian, and Irish, I shall have occasion to notice hereafter. I had, however, but little time to examine them in detail. They are, doubtless, of great extent, and just in the spot that we would expect to find the burial-place of a city—the side of a neighbouring hill. Porcupines in great numbers have taken possession of many of the excavations, throwing up large piles of rubbish about their mouths, which as well as their being choked with weeds and brambles, together with the lowness of the apertures, served at first to conceal them from our view. No traveller that I am aware of has described these chambers, though they are well worthy of observation, not only as giving an explanation of the mode of burial practised by the Tyrians,

but as helping to fix the site of original Tyre; and of considerable moment in showing the intimate connexion of its inhabitants with the Egyptians. The people here seem to know nothing about them; but their vicinity to this mosque, the appearance of the rocks, and their being on the side of the road leading to Sidon, will point out their site to future explorers.

In order to explain more fully the topography of the different cities possessed by the Phœnicians near this spot, and denominated Tyre, a brief historical sketch of that people may be found useful, as the antiquity of Tyre has, more than once, been called in question.

Sidon, its mother, and afterwards its contemporary city, is spoken of in Genesis, xliii. 13. (B. C. 1689.) Although not mentioned by name, it seems to me that Tyre is implied through the medium of its manufactures (by a figure of prosopopœia, if I may be allowed to use the expression,) as early as when the Israelites wandered in the wilderness; for we will find that the roots of the words used in Exodus to express the blue, purple, azure, and scarlet, the gifts that the Hebrews brought according to God's commandment, to decorate the tabernacle, show us that they were the produce of Tyre, a city from the earliest account of it in intimate commercial intercourse with Egypt; and these were, in all

probability, part of the wares of which the Israelites spoiled the Egyptians.*

Justin informs us that the Sidonians, being besieged by the King of Ascalon, went in ships and built Tyre. Thus it was the "Daughter of Sidon;" and to this Isaiah may have referred when he says the merchants of Sidon who pass over the sea replenished it. Strabo informs us that after Sidon, Tyre was the greatest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians; he also remarks that Sidon was more celebrated by the poets, and that Homer has not once mentioned Tyre. The fact of its not being mentioned by the great poet who is supposed to have been contemporaneous with Joshua, or the Judges, and to have flourished 1200 years before Christ, has been often repeated by those who dispute the antiquity of Tyre. But this is a mere negative proof; and there were no doubt many other cities of Phœnicia of great note in his day that he does not so much as name. Besides, being but a Sidonian colony, distant only a few miles,

* Their intercourse was no doubt great; as we are told it should be sorely pained at its downfall; and although it may be said that the Hebrews, being in bondage, were not able to get these things, it was of such the Egyptians were spoiled. Her connexion with the Egyptians was also very great in the time of Isaiah, when he says, "the seed of Sihor is her revenue," Isa. xxiii. 35. This seed was the corn from the Nile, which was called Si-hor from *shachar*, (to become black,) which it does to a certain extent, during the inundation, when charged with the fertilizing mud.

having the same arts, the same trade, and the same language, he would naturally include it with the mother city. And Sir Isaac Newton, speaking of David's message to Hiram, "for thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like the Sidonians," says, that, "the new inhabitants of Tyre had not lost the name of Sidonians; nor had the old inhabitants, if there were any considerable number of them, gained the reputation of the new ones."*

This great chronologist places the erection of this

* "The Sidonians being still possessed of the trade of the Mediterranean, as far westward as Greece and Libya; and the trade of the Red Sea, being richer the Tyrians traded on the Red Sea in conjunction with Solomon and the Kings of Judah till after the Trojan war; and so also did the merchants of Aradus, Arvad, or Arpad; for in the Persian Gulf (Strabo i. 16,) were two islands called Tyre and Aradus, which had temples like the Phœnician; and therefore the Tyrians and Aradians sailed thither, and beyond to the coasts of India, while the Sidonians frequented the Mediterranean; and hence it is that Homer celebrates Sidon and makes no mention of Tyre. But at length (2 Chron. xxi. 8, 10, and 2 Kings, viii. 20, 22,) in the reign of Jehoram, King of Judah, Edom revolted from the dominion of Judah, and made themselves a king; and the trade of Judah and Tyre upon the Red Sea being thereby interrupted, the Tyrians built ships for merchandise upon the Mediterranean, and began there to make long voyages to places not yet frequented by the Sidonians; some of them going to the coasts of Afric, beyond the Syrtes, and building Adrymetum, Carthage, Leptis, Utica, and Capsa; and others going to the coast of Spain, and building Carteia, Gades, and Tartessus, and others going further to the Fortunate Isles, and to Britain, and Thule."—*Sir I. Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*, p. 107.

colony during the reign of David, (B. C. 1048,) who having conquered and dispersed the Edomites, some of them fled to the Mediterranean coast, fortified Azoth, and took Sidon; and the Sidonians who fled, built Tyre, and made Abibalus King. "These Edomites carry to all places their arts and sciences, amongst which were their navigation, astronomy, and letters; for in Idumea they had constellations and letters before the days of Job, who mentions them; and there Moses learnt to write the law in a book." Yet one would hardly expect a city to have arisen to the eminence, wealth, and splendour that it did in the days of David, if only commenced during his reign. And this is further shown by its being spoken of in Joshua, as the "strong city Tzor," lying between great Sidon and Achzib, the present town of Zib. Thus it was included in the fifth lot that was portioned to Asher; the most northern part of the land, bounded by Issachar on the S. E., Manasseh on the S., and Naphtali on the E. From this we learn that the Jews had never complete possession of the *whole* promised land. The promise was made to Abraham; Joshua surveyed and measured out the land; but it remains for the Great Restorer of Israel, to put them in possession of the inheritance promised in Sichem. We must now bear in mind that there were two cities of this name, both of which are mentioned in profane as well as sacred history; and in reading the prophecies we must

carefully distinguish the one from the other. Sometimes Palæ Tyrus or the original city built by the Sidonians, and situated on the continent, is the one alluded to, particularly where it is represented as besieged with horses, and chariots, and forts, and engines of war. This was the city taken by the Chaldeans; in the prophecies, concerning which Insular Tyre is never included, although it seems to have been coexistent with the other, at least at the time of its invasion; but under the form of a *port, haven,* or *marina,* in like manner as the Pirœus was connected with ancient Athens. In one or two instances it would appear that both cities were included in the denunciation; but Insular Tyre is particularly specified as an island situated *in the midst of the sea.* This latter is that which occupied the site of the present Peninsular Tyre, the former being some distance inland.

The authority of Josephus, on point of chronology, is so dubious that he cannot be looked to for an opinion, especially as he mixes up the dates and histories of the two cities. According to him Tyre was built 1265, B. C. Herodotus, who flourished 413, B. C., states that he was informed by the priests that the temple of Hercules* was in

* The discussion as to the origin of the Tyrian Hercules, who was, no doubt, the first who bore that name, would be out of place in a narrative such as this; but, I cannot help remarking on the singularity of the circumstance, that Ashtaroth, Astarte, or the Syrian Venus, whose worship is supposed to have been in

existence since the time of the first building of the city (*i. e.* Palæ Tyrus) 2300 years before, or A. M. 1290, or 2710, B. C. But the Tyrians would naturally be inclined to add to the antiquity of their city; and to this the prophet may refer when he says ironically:—"Is this your joyous city whose *antiquity* is of ancient days." Quintus Curtius has remarked upon its extreme antiquity, which is often referred to in Scripture.

Bishop Newton quotes from the fragments of Santhoniathon, the Phœnician historian, as to its antiquity; and this writer is supposed by Bochart and others, to have flourished in the time of Gideon, or 1256, B. C.

The next record of Tyre occurs in 2 Samuel, where we are informed, that after David expelled the Jebusites, and established himself in the fortress of Zion, "Hiram king of Tyre, sent messengers to David, and cedar-trees, and carpenters, and masons: (or, as it is in the original, hewers of the stone of the wall:) and they built David an house."* This is supposed to have taken place, A. M. 2952, B. C. 1048, or after the departure from Egypt, 443 years, and 272 before the first Olympiad.

use at Tyre, is the only person to whom the title of "Queen of Heaven" is applied in the whole of the Scriptures.—See Jeremiah, xliv. 17; Baruch, iv. 43; Herodotus, Clio, cxcix.; also Drummond's Origines, vol. iii. p. 228. It is curious, that the scallop, assumed as the badge of the palmer and the ancient pilgrim, was the emblem of this Heathen goddess.

* 2 Samuel, v. 11.

It is mentioned when David numbered the people under the name of the "strong-hold (or fortress) of Tyre." During the early part of its history, its inhabitants appear to have maintained most friendly intercourse with the Jews, and it was not one of the cities attacked, when Joshua led victorious, Israel over the Jordan. In the year 1004, B. C. Tyre is again introduced to our notice, when Solomon enters into a league with their king Hiram,* to furnish workmen to beautify the temple.

The first siege of Palæ Tyrus on record, is that in which Salmanazar, king of Assyria, warred against the Tyrians with a fleet of sixty ships and eight hundred rowers; yet, the Tyrian navy, then consisting of only twelve ships, obtained the victory and made 500 prisoners, on which Salmanazar returned home to Nineveh, leaving a *land* force before Tyre, (evidently the *continental* city,) where they lay five years and then raised the siege. This is supposed to have taken place B. C. 717, during the reign of Hezekiah, and in the lifetime of Isaiah, who prophesied that it should be taken, not, however, by the army then before it, but by the

* The Hiram spoken of here, and in other parts, appears to have been general title for the king of Tyre, similar to that of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies of Egypt.

Chaldeans. This prophecy, which was repeated in still more awful terms by Ezekiel, was fulfilled by Nebuchadnezzar.

It is mentioned among the cities that should fall before the Chaldean conqueror, in Jer. xxvii. 5, 6, and Amos, i. 9, 10. He besieged it in the reign of Ithobal, set engines against it, broke down its towers, and took it, after a siege of thirteen years; fifteen years after the captivity, and B. C. 573. When the Tyrians saw no hope from resistance, they fled with all their wealth, according to St. Jerome—on the authority of a Syrian historian whose works have been lost—to the islands; some say to Carthage, but it is generally supposed that they took refuge on the neighbouring island, which other writers affirm was then first built upon; but Vitringa proves that it existed as a *port* even at that time. How beautifully the inspired poet describes the scene that then took place when the cry of the pilots rung through the suburbs, and the mariners that stood upon the shore of the island wept in bitterness of soul over the destruction of the hearths and homes of their beloved city. Nebuchadnezzar sacked the city, but was disappointed in the spoils he expected to gain, as the inhabitants carried all their valuable effects to the island previous to abandoning the city; however, in his subsequent conquest of Egypt he obtained a recompence for the disappointment he experienced

at Tyre. Thus ended Palæ or Continental Tyre; but it was still considered part of the city of Tyre, and Herodotus speaks of it as continuing to possess the temple of Hercules, though it must have been regarded as of little importance, from the Tyrians allowing the Grecian soldiers to go and worship there.

Tyre never attained its former splendour or greatness, but continued to decline, till at length the prophetic declarations concerning its destruction, were fully accomplished. "They shall break down the walls of Tyrus, and destroy her towers." "I will also scrape her dust from her, and make her *like the top of a rock*."* "*Thou shalt be built no more;* though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again." "Thou shall be a terror and never shalt thou be any more." And again, "They shall lay thy stones, and thy timbers, and thy dust in the midst of the waters."

We shall see that all these prophecies have been fulfilled to the very letter.

It was then forgotten or neglected seventy years, or during the remaining part of the Babylonian empire, when it was prophesied by Isaiah that she

* The word dust here, Archbishop Newcome translates earth, and refers it "to the custom in Palestine of fertilizing particular spots by carrying mould to them from other places less eligible for the purpose of sowing or planting—the top—the bare, *shining* surface of a rock." This learned authority falls into the usual mistake of making Old Tyre situated on the peninsula.

should "turn to her hire;" accordingly, at the end of seventy years, the Persians, under Cyrus, subverted the Babylonian dynasty, and restored the nations it held in bondage, to liberty. This brings us down to 503 years B. C. and the nineteenth year of Darius Hystaspes, who granted the Tyrians many immunities in return for the assistance they rendered him in quelling the Ionians. They afterwards aided Xerxes with ships and other necessaries, in his expedition to Greece; and the prophet Zechariah says, that "Tyrus did build herself a stronghold," by which is meant the fortifications on the island, which must have been erected according to the time in which this prophet wrote, about 518 years, before Christ and 55 years after the destruction of Palæ Tyrus.

The Tyrians, we have stated, fled to their island when Nebuchadnezzar took their former city. This island was distant, according to Pliny, 700 paces from the shore, and upon it the second city rose to considerable note and grandeur situated "in the midst of the sea."

Alexander, on his return from Babylon, passed through Judea, and was invited by the Sidonians to visit them, as from their very impoverished state at that time, they desired to have an opportunity of throwing off the yoke of Persian bondage, under which they had remained since the Chaldean captivity, by flinging themselves into the arms of the conqueror. His track lay along the coast, and on

arriving opposite to Tyre, friendly messengers were sent to greet him, but, on his demanding admission, that he might sacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, whose shrine existed there; they, with that prudence for which they were famed, peremptorily refused his demand, but directed him to the temple still standing in the old city. An answer such as this would but ill suit the temper of the haughty Macedonian, who resolved to take their city, and punish them for their refusal; but having no navy, he constructed a causeway, 200 feet broad, from the main land, with the stones and rubbish of the old city, which he finished in seven months. How beautifully and literally the prophecy was here fulfilled, when the very stones and dust of the former city were used in the destruction of the island fortress, to which the inhabitants had retreated, and which they considered impregnable.* Alexander subdued the city, killing 8,000 men in the attack, and crucifying 2,000 more after it had been taken, and afterwards sold 30,000 of the Tyrians as slaves. The remaining portion of the inhabitants, about 15,000 persons in number, were secretly conveyed away by the Sidonians;

* It is related, that when Alexander destroyed the city, he built a castle two miles south of Tyre upon the shore, and called it Sandalum; and it is so placed upon all the imaginary, or home constructed maps of Tyre. I found, however, a mound near the fountains of Solomon marked in the map Tal-Habish, on which are some ancient remains, which I conceive to be those of Alexander's castle, with which they correspond in site and distance.

and Diodorus Siculus and others inform us that their wives and children had been previously sent to Carthage. The city was finally set on fire by the victorious troops of Alexander. How truly do we see fulfilled in the destruction of Tyre, those predictions which had been declared in the sure word of prophecy concerning it—"The Lord will cast her out, and he will smite her power in the *sea*, and she shall be devoured with *fire*." Well might it be said—"Howl, ye inhabitants of the isle; arise, pass over to Chittim; pass ye over to Tarshish, for thou shalt have no rest." "What city is like Tyrus the Destroyed, in the *midst of the sea?*" And again, in reference to those sold into slavery—"Behold, I will return your recompense upon your own head, and will sell your sons and daughters." All these predictions were fulfilled 332 years B. C. still Tyre was not totally destroyed, for we read of Alexander appointing a king over it. The island now became a peninsula; and about thirty years after this period Antigonus again blockaded it, and after fifteen months' siege, compelled it to receive a Grecian garrison. Afterwards, one of the Ptolemies invested and took it; and finally it fell into the hands of the Selucides, kings of Syria, until, along with that country, it came under the Roman yoke.

After this we hear little of it to the time of Christ, when many of the coast of Tyre and Sidon came to be taught of the Lord, partly ac-

complishing that prediction of the royal psalmist, who said, that the daughter of Sidon should be there with her gifts. And in the days of Pliny, he says, that "all the glory and reputation thereof, standeth upon the die of purple and crimson"—a trade which it carried on at the time of our Lord, where a Syro-Phœnician woman is represented as a seller of purple.

We afterwards find a community of Christians established in Tyre, whom Paul visited on his return from Macedonia; and in the early ages of Christianity a considerable church existed there; and Isaiah's prediction, that it should return to the knowledge of the Lord, was verified in some respects. In the seventh century, it was taken by the Saracens, and retaken in the twelfth by the Crusaders, some remains of whose works are still to be seen. Upon a Latin kingdom being established in Syria, it became the see of an archbishop, the first of whom was William of Tyre, the well-known chronicler of the Crusades. In 1289, it was again taken by the Memlooks under Alphix, who sacked and still further destroyed it. It passed from the sway of these conquerors, and came under that of the Turks in the year 1516.

In 1766, the Metoualies repaired it, but it suffered in common with all the minor cities of this country, under the desolating reign of the Bashas, and some years ago, it was almost uninhabited. Since its capture in 1825 by Ibrahim

Basha, it has risen again, and will, in all probability, become the seaport of Syria, as in days of old when it occupied a similar position, most probably, to Palmyra. There are no prophetic denunciations, of which we are aware, that would prevent *its* revival, although such marked ones exist against Palæ Tyrus; and Ibrahim Basha is now repairing the wall and renewing the gates upon the land side.

Thus have we seen, though at a period of upwards of 4000 years, prophecy after prophecy respecting Tyre fulfilled—all, except the original promise of it to the seed of Abraham, and its final restoration to them.

What little remained of its antiquities was removed by Dejezzar Basha, to decorate his famous mosque at Acre. Some of the earliest modern writers* describe it during the seventeenth century, as a Babel of broken walls—the habitation of a few fishermen, and a wall whereon the fisher dries his net. We have thus seen, that it has had no rest not only for itself but for its colonies, which, in Europe, and Africa, in Spain, and other places seem still to be pursued to the distant parts of the earth.

Where stood Palæ Tyrus? is a question that has been long asked but never satisfactorily

* Maundrell, Sandys, and even before their time by the Jesuit, Hadreanus Parvillerius.

answered.* My own conviction is, that the rock of Marshuk, which I have already described as crowned by the mosque, and seen in the cut at page 119, was the citadel or acropolis of ancient Tyre. I have been led to adopt this opinion from the derivation of the word—its name of Palæ Tyrus; its position—its vicinity to the tombs—and the direction taken by its aqueducts.†

Although many conjectures have been set forth, and opinions offered, on the derivation of the word "Tyre," its true meaning is still involved in obscurity. Proper names have in every language a significant etymology, and in none more so than

* While at Jerusalem, I became acquainted with Count Jules de Bertou, to whom I stated my conjecture as to this rock. He afterwards visited the place, and has published in the Journal of the Geographical Society of London, many interesting particulars concerning its topography, and present state. In the statement he has published, he agrees with the opinion I have advanced on this subject, without, however, offering any proof for Marshuk being the site of ancient Tyre.

† This hill, so remarkable an object in the landscape, did not escape the observant eye of Pococke; for, speaking of the aqueduct from Ras-el-ain, he says, "It takes its course in a different direction, but mostly northward to a small hill called Smashook, (evidently, a corruption of Marshuk,) on which there is a house and a mosque. This, by some, has been thought to be old Tyre, which, (he adds,) is improbable on many accounts, but more particularly, as it is a league from the sea." This renowned traveller has here fallen into an error that could even then have been corrected by a reference to Strabo or Pliny; but we learn from this passage, that at an early date some notion existed regarding the real site of Palæ Tyrus; and the confirmation of an old opinion will, I feel, with many, have a greater weight than the endeavour to establish a new.

in the Hebrew, where not only words but letters have various and mystical meanings. Hebrew, if it was not the language of Phœnicia, (as is most probable,) is, at all events, the oldest written language that bears upon the subject. The original word was צור, Tzur or Sur, and afterwards the ו was dropped according to the custom of the ancients, who aimed at merely retaining the radical letters. It was then generally spelled צר, Tzor, Sor, or Tsar, a rock; but the צר, or צהר, also signifies *white* or *glistening*; and in the first mention of Tyre it is spoken of as מבצר צר, Mibtsar Tzor, translated by the Septuagint as "The fortified city of the Tyrians," and by the Vulgate, "The well-fortified city, Tyre." But, without supposing this to be the site of ancient Tyre, (as I believe it was,) were we to visit it, even now, and not be aware of its name, we should feel disposed to call the place *white rock*, for precisely the same reason that other places are called "Black Rock," "White Cape," "Blue Mountain," &c.

The words, as first used מבצר צר, Mibtsar Tsor, may mean a fortified rock, but as the place had a name *before* it was fortified, we may almost conclude that its primary name was צהר צר, or *white rock*, a name which afterwards glided into מבצר צר, towards which there would be a natural tendency in the sounds, and also by the change in the place itself.

The learned Doctor Adam Clarke gives a correct opinion as to the word Tsor, which signifies

a rock, but he falls into the error common to many commentators, in making it referable to Island Tyre, a place which had attracted no notice at the time the Sidonian colony settled on *this rock*, from which it was distant nearly a mile and a half. Others have confounded it with the present Arabic name of Sour, which signifies an island; while again, Scott and some other commentators have translated it merchandise. Dr. Shaw gives to it a double etymology, as צר, Tsor, *a rock*, and also *a purple fish*, taking his derivation as the origin of the Greek Τυρος, or the Latin, *Sar* or *Sarra*.

Volney states, that in the present name Sour, we with difficulty recognise that of Tyre; and then remarks, "but if we recollect that the Y was formerly pronounced OU, and observe, that the Latins have substituted T for the Θ of the Greeks, and that Θ has the sound of the English TH in the word *think*, we shall be less surprised at the alteration." It will be seen, that the two last letters in מבצר, Mibtsar, are those used to express both *white* and *rock* as well as the proper name צר, Tsor itself, so that we may translate it *The white fortified rock*. This evidently became a proper name similar to our own Cashel, "the rock," &c.; and of which a thousand instances could be collected in every country. It may be added, that in the rock of Marshuk now crowned by the mosque, we have all the significations that have been enumerated exemplified.

The name of *Palæ*, which has been generally applied to old Tyre, means *a well;* and is probably that mentioned by Josephus, who tells us on the authority of Menander, that in the days of Eululæus, king of Tyre, Salmanazar, king of Assyria, besieged Tyre for five years, and on returning to Nineveh, left a part of his army near the rivulets and aqueduct, (perhaps the fountains at Ras-el-ain,) to cut off the supply of water, and that then, "the Tyrians had no other water but what they procured from *wells* which they dug." We have thus a further confirmation of the existence of an aqueduct for supplying the ancient city with water; and afterwards a well, which is, in all likelihood, that which I have described as still to be found on the south-eastern side of the rock.

It seems strange, that Volney, who appears to know that this well was in the ancient city, should have placed Palæ Tyrus at the fountains; for he says, that "in order to secure the aqueduct, it was necessary that a number of inhabitants should settle there, and hence, the origin of Palæ Tyrus."

Its position—Strabo informs us, that it was distant thirty stadia or about three miles from insular Tyre; this can only mean from the extreme end of both cities. Pliny says, that the compass of the two was nineteen miles, provided we include the old city; the very town itself taking up twenty-two stadia. Both those authorities wrote in the second century, and the city then existing must, therefore,

have been Peninsular Tyre. This rock is rather more than a mile and a half from the present village; and if we include the peninsula and the city that once surrounded the rock, it will be nearly four miles from the point of the island; and as its ruins probably reached to the new city, the statement of Pliny will not appear to be greatly exaggerated. And were I allowed to offer a conjecture, I would add, that on this rock stood the famous temple of Hercules mentioned by Herodotus.

Several proofs from analogy might be cited, that rocks of this description were chosen as the neucei around which cities were built, from their affording a citadel or place of strength to the inhabitants, under shadow of which they could sit down in safety when the city was attacked, or on which, in time of peace, they could erect temples to their gods. Such natural citadels we see in Mount Sion, the Capitol, the Acropolis of Athens and of Corinth, of Argos and Mycenæ at Cario, and even at Joppa. The rock that I have described, was the only one on this plain whereon a citadel could be erected; and this will exactly express its name.

In confirmation of this view, we have also another proof from prophecy, where it says, that "Tyre shall be *utterly* destroyed and *never* rebuilt." This must, surely, apply to the continental city, as that on the peninsula has been *often* rebuilt, and

still partly exists; while, not a single vestige of the original city remains, or can be discovered by the traveller. We can only conjecture its probable site and see that the prophetic predictions have been fully verified, for it has, indeed, become like to "the top of a rock." The expression of "never found again," will not at all interfere with or invalidate any attempt to fix its probable *site;* for, perhaps, of no city that history records, has there been so complete an obliteration as that of ancient Tyre; the sand now covering the greater part of where it stood. It is remarkable, how frequently this material has been used for thus wiping out cities from the face of the earth;—Babylon, Thebes, Memphis, Luxor, Carthage, ancient Alexandria, Jericho, Balbec, and Palmyra, have been all more or less invaded by this destroying agent, which though slower than the flame or the torrent is not the less sure and fatal.

The probable site of Palæ Tyrus may also be ascertained from its vicinity to the tombs. Perhaps, no one object serves more accurately to mark the site of an ancient city than its tombs. By them alone we could determine the topography of ancient Jerusalem, even if no modern city pointed out the spot. So, likewise, in the cities of Egypt, and at Telmessus, as well as at Latakia (the ancient Laodicea,) scarcely any thing else remains but the tombs to mark their sites. The sepulchral chambers were placed just outside these cities, and the con-

struction of those I have described, as existing at Tyre, show the early date at which they were formed, and their situation determines the probable site of the old city, which, in all likelihood, extended thus far. Another means for determining the site of an ancient city is, the direction of its aqueducts. The fountains of Ras-el-ain are now, as no doubt they originally were, the principal, if not the only supply of water to Tyre. But, if the original city was situated either at these fountains or on the island, there would be no occasion to conduct the water in an aqueduct to this solitary rock, where it either ended, or was continued as far as the three great arches that rise up in the midst of the plain between it and the peninsula. Perhaps, after Palæ Tyrus was sacked by Nebuchadnezzar, instead of conducting the water to the port by a new aqueduct, the Tyrians merely extended the former one from the rock where we see it, forming something more than a right angle with that which conveyed the water to the peninsular city.

It is to be regretted, that more has not been done to explore the site of this great city, although, other places of less note and less interest have been made objects of untiring research.

Though Volney, in his description of ancient Tyre, has mixed up the different cities, yet he rightly conjectured that "its original situation must, therefore, have been on this rock." It

remains in the same state in which he visited it in 1783—still "a terror and a desolation." With the exception of Volney, traveller after traveller have visited this spot, and like the priest and the Levite, came, looked on it, and passed by on the other side without making any efforts to explore its site or ascertain its topography; until the Count de Bertou, in his late visit, devoted some attention to the subject, and as I have said before, published an interesting account of his investigations, but chiefly with regard to the insular city.

The present town is situated entirely on the peninsula, of which it occupies about a third part. The houses are all built of gray sandstone and are flat-roofed; they are surrounded by courts, and are much scattered. Opposite to the landing place on the north side, and about 100 yards from the shore, are some portions of the ancient town wall, which are of immense thickness and Cyclopean architecture. Within these is a pool of water about three feet in depth, which has generally been mistaken for part of the ancient cothon or harbour, but over which, in my opinion, the sea has encroached. Some old castles and several rows of Gothic arches mark the days of the Crusaders; these require to be distinguished from the ancient city on whose ruins they stand, and above which they are raised about six or eight feet.

Towards the south-eastern angle are the re-

mains of a large Christian Church, the east front forming three semicircles flanked by towers with winding staircases leading to the top of each. As it was built when this country was the seat of religious warfare, it is probable, it was thus constructed as well for a place of defence, as of worship. In the immediate vicinity of this church are three of the largest granite pillars I have ever seen in any country but Egypt. I consider that they must have been brought from that country; as no such material occurs in the neighbourhood of Tyre. Maundrell supposes this church to be the cathedral of Tyre erected by Paulinus, and asks, whether it may not be the identical one in which Eusebius preached his remarkable consecration sermon.

Ibrahim Basha commenced the erection of a cloth manufactory here, but the building has been discontinued since the late disturbances in the Houran. The inhabitants, who are mostly Christians, amount in number to about 1500.

A custom-house, market-place, and bazar, have been lately established; and I may remark, *en passant*, that either the population must have greatly declined in numbers latterly, or a gross imposition was practised upon a well known traveller who made it amount, in 1816, to from 5 to 8,000. My information, with regard to the number of its inhabitants, &c. was derived from the governor, our consul, and the bishop.

Some sarcophagi are to be found in the gardens outside the town, remarkable for having a pillow hewn for the head to rest on in each.

Proceeding southward across the isthmus, you arrive at the remains of a considerable pier extending all along the water's edge; the stones of which it is composed are of great size, and scattered about it are numbers of pillars of granite, and variegated marble, many of them piled up into landing places for boats.

The shore here demands particular attention, as it contains the remains of houses, the foundations of some of which are in many places still to be seen. In the perpendicular face of the beach we found the floors of these ancient houses, marked by whole strata of tesselated pavement, which show, that the level of the peninsular city was from eight to ten feet below the present surface; the intervening portion being composed of broken crockery-ware, pieces of marble, and rubbish. This pavement was of three different kinds; the first was composed of small bits of marble of from one-half to three-fourths of an inch square, another of small bricks or tiles, and the last of small portions of broken brick thrown into a bed of mortar, which were wrought together and afterwards smoothed down and polished.

While examining the remains along the shores of this harbour, I found a number of round holes cut in the solid sandstone rock, varying in size

from that of an ordinary metal pot to that of a great boiler. Many of these holes were seven feet six inches in diameter, by eight feet deep; others were larger, and some were very small. They were perfectly smooth in the inside, and many of them were shaped exactly like a modern iron pot, broad and flat at the bottom, and narrowing towards the top. Some were found detached, and others in a cluster; when the latter occurred, two or three of the holes were connected by a narrow channel cut through the stone about a foot deep. Many of these reservoirs were filled with a breccia of shells, such as are represented in the accompanying plate of the appendix. In other places, where the pots were empty, this breccia lay in heaps in the neighbourhood, as well as along the shore of this part of the peninsula.

It instantly struck me on seeing these apertures, that they were the vats or mortars in which was manufactured the Tyrian dye. I am confirmed in this opinion by the fact, that the species of shell discovered in this breccia, corresponds exactly with that described by the old authors, as that from which the colour was extracted, and from which a purple dye can be obtained even at the present day, and it is acknowledged as such by modern naturalists.

Although I broke up large quantities of these masses, in no instance could I find a single unbroken specimen, which I certainly would have found had

they been rolled in from the sea, or were in a fossilized state. I picked up one of the recent shells upon the shore, which corresponds in every respect with those formed in the conglomerate. The stones in the vicinity of this place were covered with large Serpulœ.

The binding material of this mass is lime and a trace of strontian; and the only substance found in connection with them are a few pebbles. This substance is of great weight, and adamantine hardness, and is of the same character as the petrified strand which I have already mentioned as existing at Rhodes, and in Karamania. Now, it seems to me more than probable, that the shells were collected into these holes, or as they might be more properly called, mortars, in which they were pounded for the purpose of extracting from them the juice which the animal contained; and, in this opinion I am borne out by Pliny the naturalist, who says, that "when the Tyrians light up any great purples, they take the fish out of the shells to get the blood, but the lesser they *press and grind in certain mills*, and so gather that rich humour which issueth from them."

These vats may have been also used for steeping the cloth; for dying pots, cut either in the rock or formed of baked clay sunk in the earth, are still found in many parts of the east, and may be seen in use in some of the bye streets of Alexandria and Grand Cairo, bearing some

resemblance to our tan-pits. Such places as these are still used for indigo dying throughout Africa.

The shells of which this mass is composed (a portion of which is now in my possession) are all of *one* species, and are pronounced by eminent naturalists, to be the *murex trunculus*, which conchologists admit, was one species from which the Tyrian die was obtained; but until now *no proof* could be given of its being the actual shell.*

On the seaboard line of the peninsula, and running north and south of it, parallel with the shore, is a reef of what now appears to be rocks, just rising above the water, and forming, of course, the western boundary of both harbours. A question arises if this breakwater be natural or artificial.

During the whole of our stay at Tyre the wind blew strongly from the south-west, and the sea breaking violently on these rocks, particularly the southern, precluded the possibility of a close examination. We, however, got a boat near enough the northern side of the reef to allow us to land. The soundings close to the rocks outside were ten fathoms, and continued decreasing gradually to the shore. It is difficult to say whether this reef is natural or not. There are evident marks of art upon it; and although a reef may have originally

* A subject of such extreme interest as connected with the arts and manufactures of the first of commercial cities, will, I am sure, require but little apology for devoting a few pages of the appendix to an inquiry into the nature and properties of the Tyrian die. See Appendix B.

existed here, I have no doubt but that much has been added to it by the labour of man, as in many places it has, decidedly, the appearance of *Cyclopean* workmanship. Whether those parts of the rocks which appear squared, are the natural ones cut into this form, or blocks carried out and placed there, is also difficult to determine. There is, however, a peculiar consolidating power in the water all along this coast, that has filled up the interstices, and makes the whole appear as one solid stone, in the same manner as the beach at Rhodes, and Asia Minor have been converted for miles into a petrified conglomerate. The cothon at Joppa, which we know is artificial, bears now a very similar appearance. Mr. Lyell attributes the consolidation of the beach in Asia Minor, to the streams which run into the sea, holding carbonate of lime in abundance, and precipitating travertine, or binding sand, gravel, &c., into a conglomerate, as at Rhodes. But here there is no stream of fresh water, so that it must have been produced either by the action of the sea water, or the atmosphere. The shell conglomerate found in the dyeing pots presents a similar formation. Where this reef joins the peninsula at the north-west corner, are the remains of an ancient Pharos; and beyond it is a gap or passage which was probably the western entrance to the northern harbour, and which corresponds with the point where Alexander, when besieging the city, made one of his principal attacks.

We are told that there were anciently two harbours; the one open, the other shut. The southern was called the Egyptian port; and the Shereef Edrisi says that one had an arch over it, and was fortified by a chain drawn across its entrance. Where the reef joins the south-western corner are the remains of enormous Cyclopean work, evidently created to form a breakwater: and connecting it with the land are the ruins of what appear to have been buildings of a great size, but which are now sunk some feet under the water, leaving only two or three large arches visible above its surface.

There is one more subject connected with this very remarkable place, that naturally arises out of the inquiry as to its present and former state; and that is—whether the small peninsula marked on the map can be that on which the whole of the ancient city stood; and whether the present relative positions of land and water are the same as that existing at the time of Alexander's conquest. In some travels published many years ago, it was hinted that it was probable that much of the peninsula of Tyre had been submerged, and this is further verified, both by the observations of the Count de Bertou, and the examination which I made of the place. I cannot however agree with this traveller in supposing that a large tract of land, and much of the ruins of the city are beneath the surface. Our opinions correspond as to the northern reef being the remains of the ancient harbour on that side; but

the Count states that he was informed by some sponge-divers, that a sub-marine bank extends from the point which I have marked as "submerged ruins" on the map, in a S. S. W. direction, towards Cape Blanco, a distance of two miles. This he says "we partly examined, and found it covered by water to a depth of from one to three fathoms, and measuring in breadth from twelve to fourteen yards." This bank he supposes to have been the breakwater to the southern port; but whether it is natural or artificial he was unable to determine.*

The smallness of the peninsula compared with the probable extent of the ancient city—the submerged reef, or ancient pier, running north and south on both sides of it—the ruins which I have pointed out at the southern extremity, and the ancient town wall now standing in the water at the landing-place, all afford conclusive proof of the sea having risen at this point many feet above its ancient level. But has the Mediterranean generally risen? To decide this point geologists have principally confined their observations and reasonings to the celebrated temple of Serapis, in the bay of Baiæ, on which much has been already written; but the prevalence

* * M. de Bertou seems to have taken up this subject with great energy, and has petitioned the president of the Geographical Society at Paris, to prevail on the government to send out a diving bell, to explore these submarine ruins. Although I am not so sanguine as the Swiss traveller, yet the most interesting results may be anticipated.

of earthquakes, and the continued volcanic action going forward there, prevents a fair analogy being established with it and other parts of the Mediterranean.

Commencing at the gulf of Glaucus, I have pointed out tombs, and the walls of the city of Telmessus, now surrounded by water, of which no doubt can exist, that they originally stood on dry land. Following the coast eastward, we come to the island of Kakara, of which Captain Beauford states; that it is remarkable that in some places three or four of the lower steps, (of houses,) and even the foundations of walls are now beneath the surface of the water. At Joppa I have every reason to believe that the ancient cothon has been partly submerged; and in this state are also part of the ruins of Cesarea. At Caipha I found the remains of a very antique building, which had been probably a temple, partly covered with water at its base. At Beyrout we see a tower standing in the water; and at Tyre there can be no doubt upon the subject, for there the ruins are seen below the surface. Here I must refer to one of the most remarkable prophecies not only with regard to Tyre, but mentioned in the whole of Scripture, showing not merely the *literal* fulfilment of every sentence spoken against it, but accounting for *why* Tyre is now submerged. Among the many awful predictions of the doom of this city, it is thus stated by Ezekiel

in the 26th chap. 19th and 20th verses, "For thus saith the Lord God, when I shall make thee a desolate city, like the cities that are not inhabited; *when I shall bring up the deep upon thee, and great waters shall cover thee;* when I shall bring thee down with them that descend into the pit." And again, "They shall bring thee down to the pit." The former has been fulfilled; and the latter expression Archbishop Newcome translates "the lower parts of the earth." Upwards of fifty years ago this eminent scholar and divine remarked upon this 19th verse, that "part of the city towards the port may have stood on ground recovered from the sea;" observation now proves the actual state of the case. The prophecy is so striking in itself, and shows how wondrously the Great Ruler of the universe works out his own designs, that I shall not offer one word more of comment upon it, except to remark that had the land sunk, as many suppose, and not that the *deep* has come up upon it, the ancient arches of the aqueduct would not in all probability have existed to this day. Various modern travellers have discovered submerged ruins at Aboukir, and at the Pharos of Alexandria; and by a curious coincidence, in nearly the same longitude as Kakara on the opposite shore. Thus we have evidence of the whole upper border of the coast of the Mediterranean being submerged, more or less; and from its great extent I am inclined to

attribute it more to the encroachment of the sea, than to the sinking of the land. At the same time, I must confess that we want more proof, and more observation, to make any positive assertion on the subject; especially when several eminent authorities hold the contrary opinion. Besides the places that I have mentioned, there are other parts of Asia Minor where the coast is said to have advanced upon the sea, since the time of Strabo, by filling up havens and joining islands to the mainland; but this arises from an entirely different cause, and does not militate against the opinion of the *rise* of the sea, for in those places there was a positive and actual addition of new material.*

11th. We visited the cisterns of Solomon, at Ras-el-ain, which, tradition says, he erected in return for the assistance afforded by king Hiram in building the temple. There are two sets of these cisterns; the first we came to were small, and in ruins, and are evidently of a later date than the second. Their decayed state allowed us to examine the mode in which they were constructed, in order to raise the body of water to the required level.

* Mr. Lyell, in his excellent work upon "The Principles of Geology," quotes Tyre, as an instance of the land advancing on the sea, and says that owing to this cause "the ruins of ancient Tyre are now far inland;" but on examining the map which I exhibited at the last meeting of the British Association, in Birmingham, while reading a paper upon the physical geography of this part of the country, he stated his willingness to adopt my view of the subject, and to correct the passage in the subsequent editions of his work.

This water now finds its way direct to the sea, turning a mill in its course. No doubt can exist, I think, but that both these and the larger ones are natural springs, which, by being enclosed in those waterproof walls, raised the water to the height necessary for conducting it to the city. To suppose them, as has been asserted, supplied by a river having a higher source in the adjacent mountains, is unreasonable; for had such been the case, why not conduct it from the highest point at once, instead of bringing it into a valley, in which both of these cisterns are situated. The larger cisterns are about half a mile further on to the south; the ground which intervenes between them and the lesser ones is highly fertile, and was covered with green corn and large groves of mulberry trees—silk still forming a considerable article of commerce here. These fountains are three in number, and are about thirty feet high; they are situated in a small valley, about a quarter of a mile from the sea; and though they are much broken and neglected, yet they retain sufficient magnificence to attest their antiquity and former beauty. The largest is an octagon, and is about a hundred yards nearer to the sea than the others, to which it is joined by some very beautiful arches. A row of steps leads to the top, which is surrounded by a walk eight feet broad. Either it was originally arched over, or the lining is much worn away, as the top projects like a cornice. The aperture is twenty-two yards across, and on fathom-

ing it, I found the depth not more than eleven yards in the centre, and about two at the edges; but its depth has probably been diminished by rubbish, &c. which from time to time it must have received. Indeed one only wonders how these cisterns have at all stood amidst the many desolations that have visited this unhappy country.* They are always full, and an immense body of water flows from them, which also turns several mills in its course, as shown in the map.

I measured the thickness of the wall of the smallest fountain, and found it to be twenty-three feet. It was formed in this way:—two walls of hewn stones, each from five to six feet long, inclosed a space which was filled up with a cement, consisting of lime, broken stones and gravel. On the inner wall was a lining of mortar, studded with small stones, similar to that on the fountains of Solomon, near Bethlehem, and to that on the Pool of Bethesda, at Jerusalem.

The water has been drawn from the aqueduct to supply the mills, and Ibrahim Basha was then erecting a Tabouch manufactory nigh to the cisterns. Besides the large quantity of water constantly passing off in the regular stream, it flows over the side of the cistern in one place, and forms a handsome cascade. Stalactites, like those on the arches in the plain, are seen here in immense masses; and some Doric capitals have been lately dug up at this place; and an aqueduct runs from it in a southward direc-

tion, which was used probably for the purposes of irrigation. The main aqueduct is continued northward to the rock, or citadel, and is supported by arches at one place only. On the morning of our visit, some Arab women were baking their bread, made by pouring batter upon the heated pan, a practice referred to in the book of Samuel.

The existence of these fountains prior to the time of Alexander has been called in question by a learned writer; but no stronger proof is needed of their having been constructed previous to the building of Insular Tyre than that which is furnished by the aqueduct running direct to the rock, and afterwards turning back towards the island, to which it could have been brought in half the distance, and with much less obstruction, from the irregularities of the ground. Beyond these fountains is an extensive and fertile plain, bounded by the lower range of Lebanon.

In this part of my narrative I may have been wearisome to some of my readers; but when they consider that of the many cities recorded in history few deserve more attention than Tyre, I trust they will regard the statements I have given as not devoid of interest or unworthy of attention. Were we to take up a map of the world, and trace on it the colonies that have sprung from the "Queen of the Sea," and follow them in their course through the different collateral branches that again emanated from them, we

should be tracing the progress of civilization, the spread of knowledge, and the light of science even into our own country.

15th—We departed from Tyre, and on rounding the headland of Cape Blanc, we obtained a distinct view of the promontory of Mount Carmel, running out into the sea for a considerable distance. The bay of Caipha separates these promontories, and as we sailed through it we had an opportunity of seeing the extensive plain that surrounds its shores. On this plain, and near to the shore, stands the town of Zib, supposed to be the ancient Azib spoken of in Joshua, but now an inconsiderable place, remarkable only for the peculiar appearance of its square mud-built houses, and the number of its tall palm trees, which make it visible even at a great distance at sea. Farther on upon the coast we passed the city of Acre, the ancient Ptolemais; memorable for the many storms and sieges that it has sustained, and the important part that it has occupied in all the wars that have taken place in these countries. It is the strongest and best situated city in Palestine, having, in addition to the natural advantages of its maritime position, walls and fortifications of great strength. It is now a place of considerable importance, from the very large garrison which it possesses, and its being the principal stronghold of the Egyptian general. The aqueduct which supplies it with water can be traced for a considerable distance along the plain, and its light arches form a pleasing

object in the landscape. As we approached the place, twilight set in, and soon rendered every thing indistinct. Shortly afterwards we anchored about a mile from the little town of Caipha; and next morning landed, by permission of the officer of health, to enjoy a walk on shore.

Caipha is a walled town, situated upon the water's edge on the north-western shore of Mount Carmel. Next to the sea are some high square towers, built by the Crusaders, but of the interior of the place I cannot speak, as we were not permitted to enter within the gates. A British consular agent resides here, and he, as well as several of the Frank merchants, accompanied us in our walk. The population of the place is said to be 3000, and the town itself has, in a commercial point of view, greatly improved of late years. It has at present a pretty tolerable market, and its exports of grain and cotton are very considerable. The increase of its trade has, I think, arisen from its vicinity to Acre, which, from being so deeply engaged in the wars and military affairs of the country, lost much of its commerce, and by that means Caipha became, as it were, a granary to the army encamped before it; and the advantages which it then acquired it still continues to possess. To the south of the town is an extensive plain, highly cultivated and well wooded. On its margin, and close by the sea side, are some very remarkable remains, which have not, as far as I am aware, been either investi-

gated or described by any recent traveller. Immediately beside these are also the ruins of an ancient Cyclopean wall, partly standing in the sea, the stones of which are of an almost incredible size. I know of no scriptural city that existed in this locality. May it not have been a temple of Baal, the deity that was anciently worshipped in this part of the country?

The convent that crowns the outer part of Mount Carmel* forms a pleasing object in the scenery here presented to the view; and when we consider that, in all probability, on this spot was gained that wonderful triumph which the prophet Elijah, by the power of God, achieved over the priests of Baal and their idolatry, it adds considerably to the interest of the scene.† The proximity of the spot to the sea at once answers the objections of the sceptic as to where the water was procured in that season of drought to pour on the sacrifice and in the trench.

The mountain itself is bare, and nearly destitute of vegetation. On the sloping ground that ascends from the town towards the east, are numerous sepulchres carved out of the solid rock, of the very simplest form, consisting merely of a square domed-roof chamber, having an arched door, which occupies one of the sides, with ledges or troughs for the bodies on each of the three remaining ones. They appeared to be the most recently

* Hence the term Carmelite. † 1 Kings, xviii.

constructed of any of the tombs of this description that I have seen, and were tenanted with numbers of poor people, who, for lack of better, made them their dwellings. These Troglodytes seemed to partake of the air of their habitations, and were a miserable, filthy, and degraded-looking race. In the vicinity of this place are some very splendid carob, or locust trees *(ceratonia siliqua)*. I saw the husks or legumes of these trees, scattered on the ground about the tombs, where some cattle had been eating them; and they at once recalled to my mind the parable of the prodigal son, who "would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat."* The expressed juice, and also the pulp of the fruit, is much used in the east.† A long sandy beach stretches away from the town, in a curved direction to the north. On this a very heavy surf breaks, rolling in great quantities of shells, and numerous marine animals.‡ The river Kishon, which is here fordable, empties itself into the sea at this place; but it is so shallow at its mouth that it was with

* Luke, xv. 16.

† As this tree is sometimes called the locust tree, and St. John's bread, some persons have supposed that from it the food of the Baptist was obtained. Now, in opposition to this opinion, I can only state that locusts fried in honey is a favourite dish with the Arabs about the Jordan.

‡ I picked up some good specimens of the *murex trunculus*, or dye shell, which seem to be common here. It is remarkable that one of the old names of Caipha is Porphureon, which Pococke says it received on account of the fish being found upon the coast which furnishes the Tyrian dye.

considerable difficulty we forced our boat over the bar. Before reaching the sea, the stream winds through a swampy, and, in some places, a sandy valley; and on either side its banks are fringed with underwood that in some places, almost meet in the centre of the stream. The day after our arrival we set out upon a shooting party to the valley of the Kishon, accompanied by two of the Italian residents at Caipha. The plain, which is covered with rank sedge, and low underwood, interspersed with deep and natural drains, and studded with hillocks, has very much the appearance of some of the moors in our own country. The game was very abundant; quails were in great numbers; and we also got some red-legged partridges. Here, for the first time, I saw that beautiful bird the Francolin.* On returning to the mouth of the Kishon, where the boat awaited us, we passed the black tents† of some Bedawees, in the midst of the sand-hills that surround the coast toward Acre. The females of the tribe were churning goats' milk in a very primitive

* *Francolinus Vulgarus.*—This beautiful bird is about the size of a grouse, which it resembles very much in shape. The cock bird shot here was 14 inches long; bill black; upper part of head grey, lower part of head and back of neck black; a white oval spot over each ear; a brownish red collar round the neck; crop jet black, spotted with white; wings black, quill feathers, the colour of a wood-cock's; under wings and insertion of tail, small alternate bars of black and white; thighs, bands of brown and red; legs red, like partridges; very good eating, something like grouse.

† Black, like the tents of Kedar.—*Song of Solomon.* i. 5.

manner, by shaking it or swinging it in a goat's skin slung between two upright posts.

We weighed anchor that evening, passed the handsome and picturesque castle Pellegrino, and shortly after the ruins of Cesarea. Of these enough still remain to tell us of its former magnificence. Some tall pillars and a handsome tower are situated at the water's edge; the latter rearing its weather-beaten face in defiance of the storms of nineteen centuries, and the angry waves that foam against its base. The crimson light of a stormy sunset was reflected from its walls, and gave it a bold and most imposing appearance; but the sea dashed with such fury against the rocks as to prevent our landing; so we continued on to Jaffa, where we arrived during the night.

CHAPTER V.

PALESTINE.

Jaffa—Lazarettos—Convents—The ancient Harbour—Gardens about Jaffa—Plains of Sharon—Its verdure—Recollections on passing through it—Its atmosphere—Villages—Ramlah—Pilgrims—Convent of St. Nicodemus—The Martyr's Tower—Trade of the town—Monks—Proceed to Jerusalem—Goats—Hill country of Judea—Sterility of Palestine—Beth-horon—Village of Jeremiah—The Terebinthine Vale—The Battle-field of Goliath—An Allegory—First view of the Holy City—The Latin Convent—The Hospicium—Father Benjamin—Visit to the Superior—His inquiries—Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Its outer court—Mohammadan Guards—Anointing stone—Calvary—The place of the Cross—Altars—Emotion of the Pilgrims—The Holy Sepulchre—Its Pavilion—Description of the Tomb—Stations and holy places—Pillar of Scourging—Singing—Louis Philip—Disgraceful conduct of the Friars—Recollections of the Crusades—Peter the Hermit—Exciting scenes in the church of the Sepulchre—Sensations produced by the place—The Holy Fire—Its late fatal result—Death of 300 pilgrims—A midnight scene in Jerusalem—An Armenian Bishop—The identity of the sacred places.

JAFFA, March, 1838.—We are now upon the borders of the Promised Land, eager to investigate its interesting localities; and, with the Scriptures as our guide, to enter upon it with all the fervour and devotion of pilgrims. After a night of the most fearful rolling, owing to a heavy ground swell, we awoke but little refreshed, and landed at an early hour. We were conducted to the English consul,

who was exceedingly civil and attentive to us; and he, with Signior Campanelli, procured mules, horses, and guides for our immediate departure for Jerusalem.

The town of Jaffa stands on a hill that rises abruptly from the sea, from which, at some distance, it has a very picturesque appearance; but, on closer inspection, the streets are found to be dirty and narrow. The quarantine establishment lately founded here under Signior Campanelli, is clean and well regulated; separate divisions, with a chapel attached to each, are allotted to the pilgrims of the several nations who visit this place, of whom the Greeks form the majority.

This Lazaretto is a new speculation got up by the convents at Jaffa, for before its erection, all the pilgrims were obliged to land at Beyrout to perform quarantine, and to proceed from thence by land to Jerusalem. The convents having represented this to Ibrahim Basha, and petitioned for leave to form an establishment here, they obtained permission to erect it. There are three convents in this place, Greek, Armenian, and Frank or Latin. We visited the latter, belonging to the Franciscans, and found its superior courteous and attentive. The monks are natives of Spain, and are supported principally by presents from Europe, as there is not now a sufficient number of Roman Catholic pilgrims visiting Jerusalem to support it and the other convents in the Holy Land. The chapel

belonging to the convent is a neat little building, with some good Spanish paintings; from the roof and spacious terraces, we obtained a magnificent view of the port and harbour beneath, which was then crowded with numbers of Greek vessels freighted with pilgrims, having the five-crossed flag displayed by the Crusaders of old, flying at the main. This flag, which is white with five red crosses, said to be emblematic of our Saviour's wounds, is the principal one to be met with at this time of the year in the upper portion of the Levant, and is held under a warrant from the bishop of Jerusalem. In visiting the places here hallowed by tradition, we were shown, among others, the hole into which Napoleon threw some of the bodies of the unfortunate Turks whom he had massacred. It is a deep well, evidently of great antiquity, the upper portion consisting of a round collar of white marble, the inner edge worn into grooves by the friction of the ropes, similar to those found in Greece and at Pompeii. As this was no inconsiderable post during the days of holy warfare, it was well fortified, and several of the castles, works, and walls erected by the Crusaders, nearly similar in construction to those at Rhodes, yet remain.

The ancient harbour of this great sea-port of Judea is still traceable, and the rocks which formed the pier, rise high out of the sea, which breaks upon them with tremendous violence. This pier was evidently an artificial construction, and although

no mortar was used in the building of it, yet the joinings have become filled up, and the whole forms a continuous mass, resembling that at Rhodes and Tyre, though it is much smaller than the latter. The ships of Solomon, at least those trading on the Mediterranean, could not, therefore, have been very large or numerous, or they would not have found accommodation in this harbour. As Jaffa was the only seaport of Judea, it may account in some measure for the small marine of the Israelites, who depended for their supplies more on their adventurous Tyrian neighbours than on a navy of their own. In common, however, with all the cothons of that era, it is now so filled up with sand, as only to allow an entrance to the small coasting craft. Trade was rather brisk at the time of our visit, and the place seems thriving. The imports were mostly pilgrims, and corn for the Basha's army; and the exports chiefly fruits from the neighbouring gardens. There is a good bazaar, and the gate, on the land side, is remarkably handsome, and beside it stands a noble Turkish fountain, formed of various coloured marbles, pouring forth jets of the purest water. It furnishes a good specimen of the gate of an eastern town, having within it the seat of judgment, as well as the receipt of custom, and was guarded by a strong military force, who formed a pleasing group as they surrounded its marble deewan.

Our party, which consisted of ten persons, all armed and accoutred, made a very formidable

cavalcade as we left the town at about twelve o'clock at noon. For nearly two miles after leaving the town our road lay through the richest and most beautiful gardens of orange and lemon trees, then covered with fruit and flowers, and tall, waving cypresses, corals, and fragrant mimosas; intersected with enormous nopals or prickly pears, with the scammony in flower, twining through their invulnerable armour. These productions, as well as their exceeding beauty, have obtained for this verdant spot the appellation of the gardens of the Eastern Hesperides. The inhabitants of Jaffa, who, though mostly Christians, are dressed in the eastern costume, have bowers and summer-houses in these gardens; and as we passed, we observed them enjoying their sherbet seated in the cool shades of those lovely retreats. On the broad, sandy track that winds through this fertile spot we passed numbers of pilgrims hastening toward Jerusalem; with the wild Arab of the desert seated on his camel, and wrapped in the folds of his voluminous burnoose, looking down with disdain upon the richly caparisoned horse and glittering accoutrements of the Egyptian officer.

From hence to Ramlah our way lay through one of the most fertile and extensive plains we had yet beheld in the east. Although not a sixth part of this plain is cultivated, yet where it was tilled, the crops of corn which were about a foot high, looked most luxuriant. I do not think we passed a dozen head of cattle of any kind, but the monotony

of the plain is occasionally relieved by groves and clumps of aged and magnificent olives, which give it quite the appearance of a well laid out English park or demesne. Most of these olives must be centuries old from their great size and proverbial slowness of growth; and are, probably, the lineal descendants of those we read of in David's time, which were so plentiful in the low plains, that Baal-Hanan the Gadite, was placed as overseer over them. Numbers of tall white storks paced about through the groves, like so many spectres enjoying their solitary grandeur amid the scenes of other days. The day was delightful; a light breeze refreshing the traveller and the weary pilgrim as they journeyed to the Holy City; the fields were decked with thousands of gay flowers; the scarlet anemone, and a beautiful specimen of small red tulip,* intermingled with the white cistus, the pink flox, and the blue iris, and with crimson and white asters, asphodels, and lilies, forming an enamelled carpet that perfumed the air, and offered a scene replete with every thing that could gratify the eye or charm the imagination. This plain of Sharon is about fifteen miles broad, and nearly twice as many long, bordered on the one side by the blue waters of the Levant, and the rugged hill

* The tulip is a flower of Eastern growth, and highly esteemed; thus, in the Ode of Messhe, "The edge of the bower is filled with the light of the ahmed, among the plants the fortunate tulip represents its companions."

country of Judea on the other. How writers could have described this "goodly land" as so unfertile as to warrant the assertion of Voltaire, that he would not receive a present of it from the Sooltan, I know not, as the appearance of this plain would alone refute so gross a misrepresentation.

It was not the appearance of the plain alone that struck so forcibly our minds. It was the recollection of where we were—the holy ground whereon we trod, and the wondrous scenes which the land had witnessed since the creation. To our right lay the plain of Ascalon, where the soldiers of the cross achieved so glorious a victory over the Mooslim, and made doubly impressive by the remembrance of a Saladin and a Cœur-de-Lion. How many a proud knight of the flower of European chivalry careered across this plain; his tall crest waving in the breeze, his shield emblazoned with the bearings of our proudest barons, his arm bound with the scarf of his lady-love, and his heart beating in the cause of holy warfare—where are they now?

> "The knights are dust,
> Their swords are rust,
> Their souls are with the saints I trust."

Their flesh have fed the kites and ravens, and their bones have whitened those very fields, once crimsoned with their blood. But those scenes have passed away, and the land looks as smiling as when

described by the prophets of old; and the lark that sung above our heads seemed to welcome us to the land of promise.

We rode over the lovely vale of Sharon, still producing those roses,* whose beauty and fragrance have been described by Solomon† in the sweet strains of Hebrew poetry. Around us was an atmosphere such as can only be perceived and breathed in the East—no palpable sky—no cloud traversing a canopy definite in extent, but an ethereal expanse about and above us—terminating only where the powers of vision fail—and creating the thought that we looked into the regions of boundless space. No detached houses, and but two villages, are within view on this part of the plain. One of these, Gazoor, and another called Betafafa, are but a few cottages standing upon low hills; as the few rising grounds on this immense plain would be always made use of in a country so long the seat of war. The former was originally fortified, and some of the works still remain standing. It has a pretty mosque, and by the road side a handsomely constructed fountain, containing the clearest water. Beside the fountain is a chained cup for the traveller's use.

After two hours' ride we got a view of Ramlah,

* Much has been written and many opinions expressed regarding the rose of Sharon. I agree in opinion with those authors who state, that it is not a rose but a cistus, white or red, with which this vale in particular, and other parts of Judea abound.

† Solomon's Song, ii. 1.

marked by its high tower; and a few miles to the left lay Lyda—the scriptural Lidda—the minaret of whose mosque may be seen at a great distance. Ramlah, the ancient Arimathea, is about twelve or fourteen miles from Joppa, or about three hours' ride—distance being measured in this country by hours. It is pleasantly situated; surrounded by thick groves of olives and some palms: fine crops of corn, beans, and most luxuriant tobacco border the suburbs—the enclosures are divided by the impenetrable nopals. It was the Christian Sabbath, and numbers of the inhabitants were lying in groups among the plantations, basking in the sun. The men in their long silk gowns, fur-trimmed cloaks, and dark, wide-spreading turbans; the children, some of whom were exceedingly beautiful, frisking about in the warm sunshine; and the women, clothed in long white robes with a red border, and black silk face covers, sitting by themselves in little coteries under the shady olives, and the different groups of pilgrims, in the costume of their several nations, resting after their morning's toil—these, with the surrounding country and its associations, formed a highly picturesque and imposing scene as we entered the town. The women, both here and at Joppa, cover their faces entirely with a dark coloured handkerchief—although, if young and pretty, they take particular care to give you, as if by accident, a look at their features in passing.

We were hospitably received at the Frank con-

vent of St. Nicodemus, the brethren of which are now reduced to three Spanish Franciscans. These were Carlists, and appeared very anxious to hear news from their native country. This convent was destroyed by the Turks after Napoleon's invasion, and the body of the only monk found in it was cut in four pieces! It is a large building, and has very good accommodation, perhaps the best in Palestine; but as it was Lent, we had to procure every eatable in the town, though one of the Padres had no objection to assist our servants in cooking.

After our arrival, and while dinner was preparing, we walked to the Martyr's Tower,* situated about a quarter of a mile from the town. We found it attached to a building of great extent, consisting of rows of Gothic arches, like cloisters. On proceeding through the ruins, we found that there was as much of the building under ground as what appeared above the surface, and of a similar construction. This square building itself has much the appearance of one of our old cathedral towers, and the view from the top of it was very splendid. A large marble slab, containing a long extract from the Koran, is placed over the door, and has been obviously inserted at a period subsequent to its original erection. In the centre of this large building is a small domed structure, resem-

* It has received this name from the traditionary account of a number of the martyrs of Sebasti, in Armenia, being buried under its walls. The Mooslims, however, affirm that St. George is interred beneath it.

bling a mosque. The whole is now a complete ruin, and is equally neglected by Christian and Mohammadan. The building is reported to have been erected by the Knight Templars, of whose works many remains still exist in Ramlah and its vicinity. The town, from not being enclosed with a wall, and its suburbs being thickly wooded, and several palm and other large trees growing among the houses, has a rural air, but the streets and bazaars are miserable in the extreme. The principal trade seemed to be in shoes and fruit, two very necessary comforts for the pilgrims, who generally rest here for the night. The fruit, which a bounteous Providence here supplies in rich abundance, forms not only a grateful refreshment, but a considerable portion of the food of those people. In addition to the justly celebrated water melons and pomegranates, grown at Jaffa, we procured some very fine sweet lemons, the only ones I had seen since leaving Portugal. In the vicinity of the town are some very large cisterns, which (as every thing here must have a name and legend attached to it) are said to have been constructed by St. Helena. At the time we visited them we had an opportunity of seeing the troops of Ibrahim Basha, who were exercising in the neighbourhood. They were all young Egyptians, and I have seldom seen soldiers who appeared in better health and spirits; and they manœuvred with astonishing exactness and rapidity. Returning to the convent, it was some time before we could gain admittance, as the fathers were at their even-

ing worship in a small adjoining chapel, which does not deserve any particular notice. The only means of access to the convent is by a small, low, and iron-studded door, like that which usually forms the entrance to a dungeon. The walls are of a great height, and all such buildings in Palestine resemble, in external appearance, fortifications, more than places of religious worship. It was, however, necessary that they should be constructed in this manner, in order to protect the harmless, inoffensive inmates from the incursions of the predatory Arabs, whose attacks, up to the period of the Egyptian invasion, were unceasing. Since that period, however, the very name of Ibrahim Basha is sufficient to keep these lawless robbers under some degree of restraint. The interior of this establishment, contrasted with its external appearance, quite surprised us; and in the court-yard were some lovely lemon trees, then covered with their light and elegant blossoms, which scented the whole place.

The Padres came and sat with us in the evening; they were anxious to hear news of their native country, and of Europe, while we were anxious to learn something of the antiquities and scripture localities of the neighbourhood. But they were not able to gratify our curiosity, or communicate to us any information; for on these subjects they, as well as all, or nearly all, the monks whom we met in the Holy Land, were lamentably ignorant, and knew nothing of either the geography or enthno-

graphy of the places around them; or if they had any tale to tell, it was that of some hacknied tradition, or some *saintly* legend equally false and absurd. The life led by those three monks was one of extreme indolence. The two elder seldom left the convent walls. The younger, who was the curé and the cook, informed us, that of late he had frequently been obliged to go out among his flock, consisting of a few Maronites, to correct the awful heresy of reading the Scriptures, which had made considerable (and in his eyes lamentable) progress, since the English and American missionaries, and Bible agents had been labouring among these simple people. Some of them, he said, he had brought back to the bosom of mother church, yet, many, he regretted to say, were incorrigible, and, like the Bereans of old, were determined to search the Scriptures, to "see whether these things were so." All the ecclesiastics speak favourably of Ibrahim Basha, owing to the protection he has afforded the Christian religion; and the different convents look upon his occupation of the country as a blessing. The monks remarked, that from the protection he afforded, a much greater intercourse with Franks had taken place of late years. This alone will have the most salutary effects; for it cannot fail, after some time, of introducing our customs, and of overcoming many of the prejudices of the Mooslims, as the roughness and the

inequalites of the rocky fragments, swept down by the mountain torrent, become smooth and even by mingling with and rubbing against the polished pebbles on the beach, where the ebbing and flowing waves in time roll all to an equal polish.

We rose early next morning, having enjoyed more rest than the trumpeting of musquitos and the howling of jackals at first promised. In order to avoid the attacks of the former, I think it a good plan, when the traveller is not provided with a net, to leave a lamp burning in the apartment during the night, as it attracts the insect, and generally proves the means of its destruction.

We again set forward on our journey towards Jerusalem. The plain on which Ramlah stands, extends further eastward for about five or six miles, and then the land rises in gentle slopes towards the mountains, still, however, retaining its verdure, its beauty, and its fertility. This part of the country was well cultivated, but the crops of wheat, oats, millet, and barley were all suffering from extreme drought, for no rain had fallen for a long time. On this account the barley was in ear, though it was not more than eighteen inches high.

The hill country is entered by a narrow pass at a place called Ladron, where are the remains of an old fort, and the gothic arches of a large church. The former was probably erected as a

resting place, and also as a defence for the pilgrims, as this spot has ever been the haunt of the Arab robbers.

Several flocks of gazelles bounded across our path, and numerous herds of small black goats, with long silken hair and beautiful pendant ears almost reaching to the ground, *followed* the steps of the goat-herd as he *led* them along the different mountain passes. The tinkling of their little copper bells when heard among those solitary hills through which our road lay, had a pleasing effect, and helped to beguile the tedium of our way. We had reached the hill country of Judea, and a complete change came over the scene. The eye was no longer refreshed with the verdant sward and the beauty of the plain which we had traversed after leaving Joppa; the hum of bees, the low of cattle, and even the music of the goat's bell was no longer heard. A solemn wildness reigns in those elevated regions, the hills of which rise in amphitheatres, or rather in concentric circles, one above another. The strata of grey limestone protrudes its naked head through these hills at regular intervals, like so many seats in a stadium; there is no vestige of human beings, and the road becomes a mere horse-track, with scarcely room for two to pass abreast; yet the dreariness and monotony of the view is occasionally relieved by valleys and ravines clothed with low woods of dwarf oak, which was then putting forth its young leaves and long green

catkins; and here, for the first time in our travels, we met the thorn becoming white with blossom, and reminding us of the lawns and hedge-rows of our own far-distant homes. A few fields of corn showed by their fertility, caused by the moisture which is more abundant on these elevated regions than on the plains, what could still be effected by cultivation on the limestone soil of Judea, and on the terraces between each band of rock, which act as so many retaining walls. Much was originally, and much could still be effected in the growth of the vine and the olive on the sides of these hills. Those who exclaim against the unfertility and barrenness of this country, should recollect, that want of cultivation gives it much of the sterile and barren appearance which it now presents to the traveller. The plough in use in that country is one of the rudest instruments of any implement of the kind that I have ever seen. It resembles the ancient Egyptian plough, and it does little more than scratch the soil, making a furrow scarcely three inches in depth.

About midway to Jerusalem we passed through a deep narrow gorge, wooded to an extent that we could scarcely have imagined from the rocky and barren desert in which it is situated. The ascent out of this valley is fearfully precipitous, and has long been noticed in modern history as the hiding-place or fastness of the lawless Bedawee. – Some time previous to our visit, a large band of Egyptian

cavalry were completely destroyed in this ravine. The huge rocks, the close wood on either side, and the overhanging crags, form a complete cover for the enemy, who might attack the largest body of men passing through it, while they would remain secure from harm, especially from horsemen. Thanks to the rule of Ibrahim Basha, whatever be his faults, and I believe he has many, we passed this part of Palestine in perfect security, and without the slightest interruption. In the bottom of the ravine is a ruined khan, overhung by some splendid lotus trees; and by the way side, were some enormous rocks, which, in several places, contained excavations, under which we rested for some time enjoying their cool shade, thankful, in a country like this, for those inestimable blessings—a well of water, and the "shadow of a great rock in a weary land"—blessings that can only be known and appreciated by those who may have panted on the thirsty mountain side, or toiled in the heat of the day, over the dreary waste of the Eastern desert.

This place corresponds with the locality given by Clarke to Beth-horon; and his testimony respecting it I have no reason to doubt, especially as it answers the various notices of the place which we find in Scripture; particularly that passage in the book of Joshua, where we are informed, that the Canaanites, in flying from Gibeon, took the way of Beth-horon, and "the Lord cast

down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah." Ascending from this valley, the traveller again enters upon the rugged Appenine country, from whose heights he has a last glimpse of the blue waters of the midland sea.

We next arrived at the village of Jeremiah, situated in an extensive valley, bounded on all sides by bold crags and barren fells. The vale itself, however, contains some rich fields of corn, and the sides of the lower hills are studded with full-grown olives that thrive upon the parterres between the rocks, and appear luxuriant, if such a term can be applied to those seedy looking trees, whose rusty-coloured leaves have so little of that verdant freshness which we are wont to associate with vegetable beauty. The olive is the peculiar tree of Palestine, and its fruit forms at present a principal article of diet, as its oil did in the days of Solomon. During lent it is the chief food of the inmates of the convents; and I shall not easily forget the grimace and the shrug of Padre Benjamin, when, a few days after we arrived in Jerusalem, we invited him to partake of some at our dessert. Some of the largest olive trees now known grow in Syria, among which we might instance those found at Gethsemane and in the plain of Sharon.

While our horses were feeding, and luncheon was preparing, I visited the old church—a gothic building, which is chiefly remarkable for the vast

thickness of its walls, and its arched roof, supported by two rows of pillars. The door is low, and flanked by two strong buttresses. The windows are placed at the top of the building, and admit but scanty light, and from the defensive appearance of the place it has more the look of a fort or magazine than a church dedicated to the worship of God. The state of the country at the period of its erection required that it should be constructed in this form, in order that the infirm and defenceless might have a place of refuge to fly to in case of invasion. Of late years, this valley has become a place of celebrity, from its being the residence of Aboogoush, the chief of the Arab plunderers that inhabit these regions. His house is in the vicinity of the church; and as we passed it a few discontented and ferocious looking men were seated on its front terrace, abusing some of the women and children who ran out to see the Frankees.

An hour and a-half's ride then brought us to the Terebinthine vale, memorable as the battle-field on which the stripling son of Jesse prostrated the vaunting champion of the Philistines. A narrow bridge here crosses a small stream, in which it is said the youthful warrior filled his scrip with the smooth pebbles, one of which laid Goliath in the dust, and achieved a glorious victory for the army of Israel. The scene instantly calls to mind the

position of the two armies placed upon opposite hills, with a valley running between. The hill to the left is now occupied by a considerable village of low, square Arab huts. Along the banks of the rivulet are some lovely gardens, adorned with apple trees, apricots, almond trees, orange and acacia groves, together with rose-laurels, figs, and sycamores.

All this hill country belonged originally to the Philistines, whose feelings and habits, like those of most other mountaineers, were deeply tinged by the wild scenery amidst which they dwelt, and the mode of life which they pursued, all of which, doubtless, contributed in forming that warlike disposition which marked their character. The inhabitants of this country are considered what is usually called a "bad set;" and they gave much annoyance to the Basha while he was encamped at Jerusalem, by interrupting his communications, and robbing his couriers, so that several important despatches fell into the hands of the enemy. At length one of his messengers adopted the following successful expedient; he inserted the paper into the long tube of his pipe; and although his person was diligently searched, they never thought that the pipe which he continued to smoke during the examination, contained the object for which they were anxiously looking. Josephus mentions that in his day the conveying of despatches through this country was always attended

with difficulty and danger; and that many disasters befell the messengers who were engaged in carrying communications to Titus.

On ascending out of the valley, we passed several caves in the rocks, some of which were natural, and others formed by the hand of man, the latter probably for village sepulchres. These natural caves, we are informed, were the habitations of the early inhabitants or aborigines of the land. As we advanced, the features of the country became still more wild and barren, the steeps more rugged, and the descents more precipitous, until we approached near to Jerusalem, and arrived at our journey's end. Indeed the whole of the journey to Jerusalem forms a striking analogy to that of the spiritual pilgrim's, and would form the subject of a beautiful allegory. Tossed and buffeted by the tempestuous waves of the Mediterranean; endangered, when on the very entrance to the promised inheritance, by the rocks, the shoals, the quicksands, and unsafe anchorage at Jaffa—the plain of Sharon for a while cheers his onward course, and strews his path with flowers—then intervenes the ascents, the difficulties, the fatigues, and the dangers of the hill country of Judea, to check his pride, to try his faith, and to prepare him for the glories of Jerusalem, the long-sought object of his fond desires.

Hippolite, our guide, now informed us, that we were approaching near to the Holy City; when all became excitement—enthusiasm appeared in every

face—anxious hope beamed in every eye—each pressed forward beyond his neighbour, we quickened our horses' paces, and every turn and rising ground upon the road was gained with accelerated speed, in order to catch a distant view of the city. At length we arrived at an old marabut, where the country became more level, but still presenting the same stony character; and here we caught the first glimpse of Jerusalem, at about a mile's distance. The first object which attracted our attention, was a line of dead wall, flanked by two or three square towers, above which could be distinguished a few domes and minarets. Such is the appearance which the city presents when seen from this point. Beyond the city, on the eastern side, rose a three-capt hill, whose highest point was surmounted by a white dome and one or two straggling buildings; its sides, which were studded with low shrubby plants, exhibited a brown and rugged aspect. This is the memorable Mount of Olives. Our party reined their horses and stood in motionless silence for some minutes gazing on the scene. The expectations we had formed respecting the appearance of Jerusalem were disappointed, but our enthusiasm had not, in the least degree, abated. For myself, I confess, that as I gazed upon the north-western angle of that solitary wall, sorrow came over my heart; no living thing could be seen on the intervening ground; nothing stirred, and solitude seemed to reign within its walls. It was then

approaching towards the close of day, and every thing we saw appeared lone and desolate; so quiet and solitary did the city appear, that it looked as if its inhabitants had been asleep for years, and that we had come to awaken them from their slumbers. As we approached the city, the line of wall which we had first seen, opened out and extended to the right. We passed the upper pool of Gihon, and met a few Arab crones going with their pitchers on their heads to draw water from a neighbouring well. They appeared like so many of those witches described in works of fiction, coming forth to meet us from the silent city. Turning a sharp angle of the wall, we reached a large massive square building, commonly called the castle of David, and now the citadel of the modern city. To the left of it is the Jaffa gate, which was guarded by a few Egyptian soldiers who offered no obstruction to our entrance.

We rode on through a narrow street with a low dead wall on either side. On our left lay a piece of waste ground, covered with old walls, broken cisterns, and prickly pears of an enormous size, jumbled together. On our right, the apertures in the broken wall afforded us occasional glimpses of the minarets and domes that rise throughout the lower and more populous parts of the city. A few minutes more conducted us to the Latin convent, which we entered by an arched gateway that rang with the sound of our arms and the horses' hoofs,

which echoing through the old building, aroused its inmates; presently, we found ourselves in a square court, from whose surrounding windows, numbers of bearded monks peered forth, astonished at our appearance, and wondering who the party could be that had created such an unusual stir within their solitary dwelling.

As the Latin convent is that most frequented by European travellers, the number of whom has much increased of late years, the monks found it inconvenient to afford accommodation to all, and they, therefore, established a hospicé in the immediate vicinity. To this place we were conducted by Elias, the cook of the establishment, a friendly old fellow, whose attention every traveller will, I am persuaded, acknowledge. We found the best apartments of this inn already occupied by other travellers, and so were compelled to take up our quarters in a cold, dark apartment, with a stone roof, without even the necessary comfort of a fire-place.

A letter from Signior Campanelli, procured us the services and kind assistance of Father Benjamin, the curate of the convent. He generally acted as our guide. The curé was a kind, good-natured creature, but extremely dirty in his habits. He had been but a few years in the country, and had not yet told his tale often enough to believe it himself; for, on questioning him as to the accuracy of many of the sacred places, he usually

finished his speech with, "But I am sure it is all tradition." His evening visits to us were often very acceptable, for he generally produced from underneath his cloak a bottle of good wine, much better than that supplied to us by the convent.

After dinner, we proceeded to pay our respects to the superior of the convent, and in passing to his apartment we were conducted through a long gallery, on either side of which were ranged the cells of the Padres, numbers of whom stood, waiting at their doors to catch a chance word, to know our country, and hear something of what was going forward in Europe. The reception-room we found a very comfortable apartment, with some good old paintings. It was partly hung with tapestry, and a deewan ran along two sides of the room. The superior was a stout, intelligent-looking Italian, about forty years of age; courteous, well-bred, and apparently well skilled in the art of pleasing. He appeared to be well acquainted with the general affairs of Europe; and hearing that we had been lately in Spain, seemed particularly anxious to learn the success of Don Carlos, in whom he seemed to be deeply interested. In the course of conversation, he learned that I was an Irishman, and instantly inquired after Daniel O'Connell, and asked if the bishops of Ireland were not now a very learned body. Being an Irishman seemed to raise me not a little in his estimation, perhaps from his supposing that I must, of neces-

sity, be also a Roman Catholic, as it is considered in several places abroad, that none others are to be found in Ireland; and, I attribute the attention I received in visiting many places of worship here, to this circumstance. The superior invited us to partake of lemonade and brandy flavoured with anniseed, which brought to our recollection the day we spent at Mafra. The secretary of the superior, I found a good botanist, and a man of more taste and refinement than we were led to believe could exist among the Terra Santa friars. We returned to our hospicé, and thus ended our first evening in Jerusalem..

Having taken up our residence in the Holy City, I here close my diary for the present, and instead of dragging my readers from place to place, and enumerating all that we saw and heard, I choose rather to compress my notes of the week which I spent here, into distinct sections upon some of the most remarkable places and objects which have been least dwelt upon or described by recent travellers.

One of the places first visited by the traveller or the pilgrim, is the holy sepulchre; and here I generally spent an hour daily during our sojourn at Jerusalem—for all must be willing to accept the invitation—"Come and see where they have laid Him." Our way from the Latin convent to the sepulchre led *down* through a tolerably wide street, having high dead walls on either side, with low

massive doors at intervals, leading into the courts and houses within. Turning to the right, at the end of this street, we proceeded through one of the smaller bazaars, generally filled with ragged Arab women, the vendors of vegetables and snails, the latter of which are much eaten here, especially during the season of lent. Pursuing this path for a short distance, our attention was attracted to a crowd of people of different nations, hastening towards a narrow lane upon the left. Mixing with these, we found both sides of the lane crowded with shops for the sale of wearing apparel, crosses, rosaries, and such other sacred ware. Several crooked turnings, and a steep descent, conducted us into a large square court in front of the church of the holy sepulchre. Part of this enclosure is raised a few steps, and these form the basements of a row of pillars; so that, in all probability, the whole of this court was originally covered in. The scene that presented itself in this space was of most novel and exciting interest, and the motley groups of figures that thronged it gave it a very extraordinary appearance. On the upper raised steps were tables spread with coffee, sherbet, sweetmeats, and refreshments; and throughout the court were seated pedlars, and the Bethlehemite vendors of carved shells, beads, ornaments in mother of pearl, bituminous amulets, bowls made of the asphaltum of the Dead Sea, and other articles of holy merchandise, some of which each of the

pilgrims purchase during their stay. Through these wares, hundreds of persons passed and repassed to the church door. Pilgrims of many nations were to be seen in their different costumes; Latin, Armenian, Russian, Greek, and Coptish friars, with Turks and Egyptian soldiers, all forming the most extraordinary scene that could be found in any spot upon the globe; and a polyglot language is heard, such as few other places in the world could exhibit.

The front of the church presents little worth describing. No architectural beauty seems to have been attempted in its erection; and it is now a poor, mean-looking building, and very much defaced, as for many years past the Turks would not permit any of the Christian edifices to be repaired.

The entrance was originally a double arch, supported by three sets of clustered pillars of grey marble and verd-antique. On the architrave above it, is represented the Messiah's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, in good basso-relievo. This is a handsome piece of sculpture, but like the others in the building, it, too, is greatly defaced. Several other scriptural devices are distinguishable round the cornices and windows. On the left stand the ancient belfry and the Greek convent, and on the right, some old walls and ruined houses. We were not a little surprised, upon entering the door of the church, to see the stiff form of an Egyptian

soldier, guarding the entrance to the tomb of Christ. On the left, upon a raised platform, half a dozen turbaned Turks sat smoking and drinking coffee. These Mohammadans are necessarily placed there, for the purpose of preserving order and decorum among the devout priests and Christian pilgrims during their religious ceremonies! They keep the keys of the church, and open it every morning and evening, except during passion-week, when it remains open the entire day.

One of the first objects that caught our attention on entering the sepulchre, was a large oblong slab of variegated yellow marble, raised a few inches from the floor, and having an immense candle burning at each corner. Our cicerone, Padre Benjamin, very gravely informed us, that this stone was that on which our Lord was anointed, and here, on Good Friday, the priests go through a similar ceremony with an effigy of the Saviour. At this spot the daily station of the pilgrim commences, for, on approaching it, he kneels, and not only kisses it, but touches it with his forehead, and then with both cheeks. This is the usual form of salutation at all the holy places. Whence this slab was procured, I cannot possibly discover, as it is totally different from any of the marbles found in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; however, tradition has sanctified it, and so we pass on without questioning its antiquity. A few yards to the right of this

anointing-stone, a flight of eighteen steps cut out of the solid rock, led us to a square platform, surrounded by a dome or cupola, distinct from, and of a smaller size than that covering the holy sepulchre and the rest of the church. This platform, which is mostly covered with marble and ornamented work, we are told is CALVARY. Seventeen paces from the top of the stairs brought us to a low white marble altar, towards which the pilgrims were rushing as quickly as they could on their knees. The attendant priest, perceiving that we were strangers and Europeans, very politely interfered in our behalf. He caught hold of the person who happened to delay too long under the altar, and pulling him back, procured for us an immediate entrance into the aperture. Going down upon my knees, I entered the passage to the crypt beneath. The first thing that attracted my attention on reaching this place, was a large circular plate of embossed silver, fastened on a marble flag, and containing the remains of many precious stones and gems which had been set upon it. In the centre of this plate there is an aperture, into which I sunk my arm, and at about the depth of a foot I found a square hole in the rock, where, it is said, the cross was placed on which our Lord was crucified. A few paces to the right of this spot, we were shown a silver grating, which covers a cleft in the rock, which we were told was the exact spot where the rock was rent at the time of

the crucifixion. We found no altars over the places were the other two crosses are said to have been placed, as was stated to have been in existence there some years ago. I anxiously inquired after the skull of Adam, said to have been found here; but that tale is now better known to the traveller and to the English reader, than to the monks of Jerusalem, and of this tradition I shall have occasion to speak in another place. This chapel is now in the hands of the Greeks, who have decorated it with their usual gaudy tinselled paintings. A number of ornamented lamps suspended from the ceiling, shed a peculiar mellow and sombre light over the place. To the right of where the cross is said to have been fixed, the Latins have erected another altar, where, they say, he was nailed to the cross; but very few of the pilgrims seemed to pay any reverence to this altar, which, like many other places of the same kind established in the vicinity of those which have been acknowledged as possessing greater antiquity, look like so many "opposition shops." The walls of this place were adorned with some faded tapestry; and underneath the platform of rock is a small chapel belonging to the Copts, and also a place for preparing coffee. In this chapel is shown a crack or fissure in the rock, corresponding to that in the apartment above; and the examination of it, rather induces me to consider the place called

Calvary, as a portion of the *original rock*, squared and hewn down to its present form; but I am at a loss to discover at what time, or under what circumstances, this place received the name of a hill or mount, as no scriptural evidence for such an appellation exists. The top of this plateau is fifteen feet above the floor of the adjoining church, and the bottom thirty-five yards from the site of the holy sepulchre. Whatever may be the diversity of opinion as to the identity of this rock, a subject which I will discuss in another place, it was not, I confess, without feelings of deep emotion, that I visited the so-called Calvary. On many of my visits to this place, particularly at an early hour in the morning, when but comparatively few pilgrims were present, I was greatly struck with the sincere and devotional feeling exhibited by many who slowly and reverently approached the altar on their knees, with tears of sorrow running down their cheeks; when sighs and stifled groans were the only sounds that broke the stillness of those moments, save the tinkle of the piaster as it fell into the money-tray of the attendant priest, who alone, among the group, remained unmoved. At these early and tranquil hours, I have watched the aged and weatherbeaten pilgrim here bowed to the earth, and mothers prostrated around the place offering up prayers, directed, I doubt not, by the promptings of their hearts, and with silent tears, presenting

before the altar their lovely little ones,* who gazed with mute astonishment and childish sympathy at the parent, but not venturing to break the silence or interrupt the solemnity of the scene by their innocent prattle. These were absorbing moments, and different from the scenes I witnessed during the more public and crowded hours, when hurry, bustle, and confusion, and the vast concourse of people rendered the approach to this place almost impossible.

I have frequently seen, when some of the pilgrims possessed of more devotion or curiosity than the rest, remained under the altar longer than the usual time, that they were very unceremoniously reminded of their delay by the attendant priest, especially if they did not belong to his own church.

On our return from Calvary, we entered the large circular hall of the sepulchre. This part of the building is surrounded by a gallery supported on a colonnade of eighteen pillars, and surmounted by a vast dome. To the north of this hall is the Latin church, and to the east of it is the Greek chapel. A large curtain hangs before it. This chapel is, by far, the most highly decorated of any of the places of worship here. The Armenian

* I was often struck with the number of children brought by their parents to Jerusalem—it reminded me of the days when the Hebrews brought up their little ones to present and dedicate them to the Lord in the temple.

church is situated in the gallery of the building. Beneath the centre of the dome is erected an oblong pavilion of grey and yellow marble carved in panels, which, at its southern end, is surmounted by a kind of lantern or open-work cupola, decorated with wretched looking artificial flowers made of tin, and containing lamps that are lighted only on state occasions. Attached to the western extremity of this pavilion, is a small chapel belonging to the Copts. The entrance to the pavilion is raised a little above the rest of the floor, and is covered with a carpet, on which were seated numbers of beggars and decrepit folk, demanding alms of the devout pilgrims. From the top of this pavilion, and attached to the entrance of the Greek church floated blue silk banners. This building contains the holy sepulchre, into which all the monks and pilgrims enter barefooted, but our party were not required to take off their shoes. The pavilion is divided into two apartments; the outer one was handsomely decorated with different coloured marbles and lighted by lamps suspended from the roof. This apartment, which corresponds with the usual antichamber of Eastern tombs, especially those in Judea, has oval apertures on each side opening into the church. These are for the purpose of transmitting the light during the performance of the mummery of the "holy fire." In the centre stands a square stone, said to be that on which the angel sat when Mary came to

visit the tomb. It is a piece of gray compact limestone, similar to that found in the vicinity of the city, and is supported by a pedestal not unlike that of a baptismal font. Opposite to this a low narrow door leads into the sepulchre, which was then so crammed with pilgrims, that for some minutes we found it impossible and unsafe to attempt an entrance. Could mirthful feelings have been indulged in such a place as this, the scene, which was ludicrous in the extreme, was well calculated to call them forth. Two pilgrims, perhaps a Greek and an Armenian, endeavouring to pass through the door together, and neither being disposed to yield in the holy struggle, they became jammed, and thus remained till both were forcibly ejected by some one from within, who had been himself, in turn, rudely thrust out by the Padre in attendance. Seeing a group of Franks waiting for admittance, some of the other visitors made way, and our attentive friend, the curate, soon pulled away the rest from about the door-way, crying out, "*Inglese, Inglese! Milordos Inglese!*" The sepulchre within is a square chamber, six feet nine inches every way; open at the top beneath the small cupola before mentioned, which here presented an open-work of marble of the most chaste and elegant workmanship. On the right hand side, an oblong slab of bluish white marble raised two feet above the floor, is supported by another of a similar form. The upper horizontal flag was cracked across the centre in the fire

of 1808, and it has been actually worn down by the kisses of the many thousands of pilgrims who have visited this place for the last fifteen centuries.* Within this coating is said to be the actual soros or trough in which the body of the Saviour was laid, and to protect it from being chipped, carried off as relics, or *kissed away*, this marble was enclosed. This may, to some, appear strange and unnecessary; yet, it is related by a chronicler of the Crusades, that the Count Anjou, one of the first pilgrims who visited this shrine, while in possession of the Mooslims, bit off and carried away a mouthful of the actual tomb without the infidels being aware of it!- Above the tomb are suspended a number of small silver lamps of the most costly filigree work—the presents and offerings of the nobles and princes of the Christian world from a very early period. Besides these lamps, a great number of small wax tapers were placed round the walls; one of these was removed and given to each person who entered the chamber, and another was lighted in its place. Each of our party was presented with one of these tapers, and permitted to carry them away as a relic of inestimable value. Flowers were occasionally scattered on the tomb, a few of which were afterwards given to those

* Dr. Richardson supposed that this worn appearance of the marble was the effect of long exposure to the atmosphere; but no doubt can exist as to its being attributable to the lips of the millions that must have kissed it.

whose donations were of such an amount as gratified the wishes of the attendant priest, who sprinkled us plentifully with holy rose water, on leaving the place. Our party of five just filled the space in this crypt unoccupied by the tomb. Although the top is evidently of modern construction, the sides of the door as well as the part above it are hewn out of the solid grey lime-stone rock, which is then distinctly seen.

From the sepulchre we were conducted round the different stations or holy places, which tradition and monkish ignorance have crowded within the walls of this building, such as the place where St. Helena stood to watch the excavations made to find the true cross, where Mary stood to watch the crucifixion, and where Mary Magdalene stood when Jesus appeared to her in the form of the gardener. The latter is considered a place of peculiar sanctity, and the Latin Fathers were then chanting round it and perfuming it with incense. In one of the side walls of the Latin church, there is a small grating with a hole in the centre, in which was lying a long stick with a silver knob on the end, not unlike a footman's cane. Here a few Frank and Maronite devotees came, and after rattling the stick about for some seconds in the hole in order that it might become endowed with peculiar virtue and carry out a good share of the holy influence within, pulled it out and kissed it most devoutly. Within this grating, I was informed, was a piece of

the real and genuine pillar of scourging, although I had been shown but a few minutes before another pillar of the same character in the vaults below, and a third is exhibited at Rome. The Latins have a fine organ in their place of worship, and chant their service in very good time. The Greeks use no instrumental music in their religous worship, but make up for that defect by the most discordant nasal singing I ever heard, each vieing with his neighbour, and braying with a forty-nose power that would be really deafening by itself, were it not overcome by the noise that is produced by the beating of copper drums about the size of boilers belonging to the Armenians. There are so few Copts in the place, that the sound which they produce amounts to little more than occasional whines. Hours were consumed in visiting all the different chapels, shrines, and sacred spots under the roof of this building, the bare enumeration of which, would be as wearisome and disgusting to my readers as the scenes I witnessed were to myself.

There was, however, one remarkable object which I cannot omit to mention. In that portion of the gallery allotted to the Franks, we were pointed out a full-length portrait of the king of the French, lately sent by him as a *decoration* to the holy sepulchre!

The first evening that we visited the church it was densely crowded, and when the different pro-

cessions were going their rounds through the building, and during the performance of the religious ceremonies, our attention was so occupied by the multitude of objects which were presented to our notice, that there was little time for reflection; but when we returned to the hall of the sepulchre, after having seen all the curiosities of the place, we found the crowd so much diminished, that we were enabled more minutely to observe what was going forward, and also to see some of the effects which the whole scene was calculated to produce. Several young Egyptian soldiers had collected round the door of the holy sepulchre, and were acting in a most disgraceful and indecent manner, pushing each other and running in and out of the tomb by way of amusement. I confess that I felt, in common with my companions, at this moment, some of the spirit of the Crusaders rise within me, and was half inclined to inflict summary chastisement on the infidel and wanton intruders. Yet, on considering the matter, I saw that the conduct of these ignorant people was not to be wondered at, when I reflected, that they had just been relieved from keeping guard at the outer door, where they had been stationed for the purpose of preserving order among the Christians, whose reverence for this spot should produce decorum of conduct; yet, they daily witness acts of violence and desecration among the very priests themselves. Alas! but too often is this very

sepulchre not only the scene of deceit and extortion but frequently of confusion, strife, and actual bloodshed. About a fortnight previous to our visit to Jerusalem, an altercation took place within the walls of the actual sepulchre, what is considered the most holy place, between a Greek and an Armenian priest for precedency—high words were followed by heavy blows, a furious scuffle ensued, and the white marble covering of what those men believe to be the grave of the Prince of peace was stained with the blood of persons calling themselves his ministers, professing to teach his doctrine, and to walk in his footsteps! Both of these priests were instantly conducted before the Kadee, who fined their respective convents severely for this violation of the public peace; for the Kadees and other officials are always glad of an opportunity of inflicting a heavy fine on the convents for the misconduct of any of their members.

With the recollection of similar acts, and with the scene such as I have described passing around me, I could not avoid asking myself, as I stood at the door of the sepulchre, is this the object for which a continent rose in arms, nations sent forth the flower of their population, monarchs deserted their thrones and kingdoms, whole countries rushed forward to the battle-field at the beck of an ignorant and fanatic monk, and thousands upon thousands shed their blood, and converted the plains and valleys of Palestine into an Aceldama; when

war, famine, pestilence, and destruction, so long desolated so large a portion of the world? Many as were the engrossing topics that rushed upon my recollection, and many as were the striking objects around me, my thoughts still wandered to the preaching of the hermit, when he roused the warriors of Europe to arms, and led that rabble horde of sixty thousand, of all ages and all sexes, across the plains of Hungary and Bulgaria, who abandoning their homes, and throwing aside the peaceful instruments of husbandry, ran forward, seized with that unaccountable fanaticism which the eloquence of Peter infused into their half-civilized minds. I thought too of the orders of saintly warriors and chivalrous churchmen, the Hospitalers and Templars, that were instituted in this land, for the purpose of guarding this sacred spot, which became not only the object of the pilgrim's veneration, but the very nursing mother of chivalry.

The view from the gallery of the building is most exciting, and on looking down upon the moving mass of human beings beneath, I was forcibly reminded of the scene that the court of Solomon's temple must have presented when the different tribes and nations who, from various parts of the world, came up to worship in Jerusalem, were assembled within its sacred walls. I scarcely knew on what object to rest my eye, so strange and varied was the appearance and costume of the crowd assembled beneath. The diversity of language, the flaunting of the silken

banners that slowly moved to and fro from the top of the sepulchral dome, the gaudy paintings of the Greeks, the waving of censers, and the perfume of incense — the crowds of devoted pilgrims, some in attitudes of deep emotion round each sacred spot; the turbaned Greek; the high capt Persian; the shaggy coat of the Muscovite, or the Siberian; the long beard and dark, down-cast visage of the despised Copt; the dresses of the different ecclesiastics; the mitred abbot, the venerable patriarch, and the cord-girt friar, shall never fade from my memory. But when to these I add the scenes that took place upon some of the succeeding days that are considered more important and sacred, when the devotees joined full chorus, though, to speak correctly, it was any thing but chorus or harmony, the effect was indescribable. Then, the organ of the Latins was in full play, and the measured chant of their hymns rose from the vaults beneath, and with the loud nasal twanging of the Greeks; the drums and timbrels of the Armenians; the low, plaintive murmuring of the Copts; the groans of the devout pilgrims that issued forth from Calvary; the glimmering of lamps and tapers; the long lines of the different processions; and the "bustling busy hum" that at intervals came from the court without, as some of the pilgrims quaffed their sherbet, or cheapened beads and rosaries, formed a scene that beggars all description. But even at those moments when

the din and clamour of this scene, which resembled the confusion of tongues at Babel, was loudest, there was *one* that, like a death-bell, ever rung in my ears—a sound which, eighteen centuries before, every spot in that vicinity must have heard; a sound at which the very rocks were rent, and the earth did quake; which burst asunder the narrow confines of the tomb, and called into life the mouldering ashes of the saint; a sound the most appalling that ever fell on human ear; a sound at which all nature, animate and inanimate, was moved to send forth one universal groan of anguish; that sound was the "Eloi, Eloi, Lama Sabachthani." If I closed my eyes amidst this scene, it was but to picture in my mind the bleeding sacrifice: the weeping mother—the supporting disciple—the intreating fellow-sufferer on the cross—the gaunt form of the Roman soldier—the wagging head of the reviling Jew—and the riven rocks—opening sepulchres—the rent veil of the temple, and mid-day darkness—appeared, in all their reality, to my imagination.

As the forms, the ceremonies, and processions, that take place in this church, have been described by many other travellers, I shall not occupy time in repeating what I suppose my readers generally know. There is, however, one scene connected with the grand climactric of credulity and superstition, and which is now the principal magnet that attracts the Greek and Armenian pilgrims to Jerusalem, that I

cannot omit mentioning. On Easter eve all the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem, and many of the Mohammadans also, assemble in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to witness the ceremony of what is termed the *Holy Fire*. After the usual masses and processions have been concluded, the Greek patriarch and the Armenian bishop enter the pavilion of the sepulchre, the outer door of which is immediately closed upon them. The dignitaries remain locked in till night, waiting for the *miraculous* fire, which they assert is sent down to them from heaven. At length the wished-for light is seen, and a flame appears at the oval aperture in the outer chamber, or cenotaph, which I before described. In order to increase the delusion practised upon the devotees, in former times a dove was let loose from the cupola of the tomb, at the moment the sacred fire appeared, to represent the Holy Ghost! This latter part of the farce, if so mild a term can be applied to so impious a mockery, has been discontinued for some years past. Each of the pilgrims carries with him a torch, and, as soon as the flame is perceived, a rush is made to light the torches at the sacred fire; and, as no person is allowed to ignite his flambeau at that of his neighbour, the greatest uproar and confusion prevails. It seems that those that are soonest lighted possess the greatest virtue, and on that account large sums are sometimes paid for the privilege of the first ignition. The torches are

then extinguished, carried home by the pilgrims, and preserved for burning round their bodies after death.

On this same night, about four years ago, this mockery was visited with a signal instance of the wrath of the Almighty, and was attended with the most melancholy results. On that occasion the crowd was more than usually great, for upwards of 6,000 persons had assembled in the building, and, according to custom, the outer doors were closed. While the people were anxiously waiting for the miraculous fire, the heat from the pressure became intense, and the air, from the closeness of the place and the multitude who were breathing it, became impure. Just at the moment that the fire made its appearance, several persons fainted, others sunk down from weakness and extreme exhaustion, a cry of distress rose from those in the centre of the building, and a general panic was immediately spread throughout the whole multitude. A rush was then made towards the door, but, as it turned inward, it was impossible to get it opened, owing to the extreme pressure of the crowd against it. In the tumult that prevailed, none thought of escaping by the galleries, or the other small side entrances, and the scene that followed, as described to me by several eye-witnesses, was fearful, and in its consequences truly appalling.

In the space of a few minutes, certainly not more than a quarter of an hour, numbers perished,

either from suffocation, or from being thrown down and trampled to death by the crowd. The governor of the city, who was present as a spectator in the Frank gallery, with a humanity creditable to his character, ran down and endeavoured to restore order, and get the gates broken open; but he too was borne down by the pressure, and only for the vigorous exertions made by his attendants to rescue him, he would have perished with the other unhappy victims, at this shrine of superstition, being with great difficulty saved. At length the guard forced back some of the crowd with their bayonets, and opened the doors. Many who were carried into the open air recovered; but, from all that I could collect from the most authentic sources, not less than 300 persons perished on that night. Terrific as was this scene of death, one not less heart-rending ensued, as described to me by my friend, Mr. Nicolayson, the Jewish* missionary, and other witnesses. The great majority of those who perished in the building were Greeks of Asia Minor, and Armenian Persians, whose noble, athletic forms every person must admire. The dead bodies were immediately

* A female servant of this gentleman had gone to witness the proceedings, and before she returned, the family were aroused by a piteous cry throughout the city. Mr. Nicolayson set out to search for her, and so had an opportunity of seeing the scene which followed that which took place in the church. The servant, however, escaped.

removed from the court of the church by their respective friends, relatives, or countrymen, and conveyed to the convent yards, the public karavansaries, and even to the bazaars and open streets in different parts of the city. They were then washed, laid out, and, waked, surrounded by those very torches by which they had, in so remarkable a manner lost their lives, for notwithstanding the accident, the ceremony still proceeded in the church. The mourning groups that knelt around the corpses of their friends and kindred, so lately radiant with life and health, and on which the cold stiffness of death had scarcely yet appeared, presented an impressive and afflicting picture. A wail of sorrow, long and loud, rose at times upon the midnight air throughout the city, and reminded those who heard it of the lamentation that was heard in Bethlehem, when its children were butchered by the Roman soldiers, to gratify the vengeance, and to satisfy the fears of the guilty Herod; or, as when the angel of destruction passed over the land, and smote the first-born of Egypt.

Those concerned in the jugglery of this miraculous fire endeavoured, by all possible means, to cloke the matter, and to prevent the exact number that were killed from being made public; but the impression made on the minds of the people was so great, and so direct and awful appeared this rebuke of the Most High, that on the next day the

very same Armenian bishop who had assisted at the ceremony, preached openly against its continuance, and strongly urged the people not to require the performance of what they had been taught to believe was miraculous. The Greeks persuaded him afterwards, however, to resume the farce, which is still performed, being in fact the fly-wheel of the machine that fills the coffers of the convents. The Latins, or Roman Catholics, at present hold the ceremony in extreme contempt; but we must at the same time bear in mind that this mockery was originally their own invention, and the deception was practised by them, with full force about four centuries ago. Since the occurrence of the catastrophe I have mentioned, there has been an open space left in the fan-light of the dome, and the doors of the church are not now closed as they were before, when the people have assembled.

Having now conducted my readers to what is to many one of the chief objects of attraction in the Holy Land, giving the simple narrative of its present state and appearance, and stating some of the feelings that I experienced during my visits to it, it may be asked, has not this place, called Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre, been long since *proved* to be nothing more than a fable got up by the Empress Helena, and propagated by credulous travellers, and the impositions of ignorant and superstitious monks?

To discuss the varied and conflicting opinions upon this much mooted and warmly contested topic, would far exceed the limits of my narrative, or the extent of my reading; nevertheless, I shall in the two next chapters, offer a few remarks upon the objections brought against the validity or identity of Calvary and the tomb; and which, though they may not possess the same argumentative force of others, who have written on the subject; yet will have at least the value of having been formed from actual observation on the spot, unbiassed, I trust, by either the credulity of Sandys, the enthusiasm of Chateaubriand, the poetry of Lamartine, or the traditionary legends of modern monks and pilgrims.

CHAPTER VI.

JERUSALEM.

Topography of Jerusalem—Mode of Constructing Maps—Opinions of Clarke and Buckingham—Plans of Mr. Catherwood—Description of the hills on which the city stands—The Streams and Valleys—Map of the Author—History of the several Cities on this Spot—Salem—Sion—Building of the Temple—Destruction by Nebuchadnezzar—Rebuilt by Zerubbabel—Agrippa's Wall round Bezetha—Errors in Topography—Descriptions of Josephus—Acra and Moriah—The Three Walls—Tower of Hippicus—Circuit of the Ancient City—Tower of Antonia—Tower of Psephinus—The Royal Sepulchres—Walls of Nehemiah—Description of the Gates and Fountains—Establishment of their Sites—The Armoury—Existing Remains of the Ancient City—Cyclopean Work—The Outer Enclosure of the Temple—Mourning Israelites—Berea Solymon—Corroborations—Similarity of Architecture—Authority of Ancient Writers—Circumference of the Ancient and Modern City—Ælia Capatolina.

In considering the question proposed in the last chapter, regarding the identity of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, we find that so much depends upon the position that the ground *now* covered by the church of the sepulchre occupied in relation to the walls of the ancient city, that it necessarily becomes mixed up with the topography of Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion. For this reason, the same arguments and observations that are adapted to the one case, become, if true, the proofs of the

other. In order that we may enter upon this subject of the topography with advantage, we must first endeavour to trace out the original form of the ground before any city whatever was built upon it; and at the same time cast a rapid glance over the history of Jerusalem, from the earliest period that historic record bears upon the subject.

I may remark, by way of preface to the subsequent inquiry, that both these questions, of the topography of the ancient city, and of the identity of the Holy Sepulchre, are still undecided, and that the minds of many eminent scholars, travellers, and antiquaries, are by no means made up upon them.

Up to the period of D'Anville's treatise, "*Sur l'Ancienne Jerusalem*," in 1747,* the maps of the ancient city were, for the most part, constructed *at home*, by persons who had never seen the places to which they attempted to give a precise locality. Pococke and Chateaubriand have, however, fixed the localities *of many* of the places mentioned in Scripture. These, with the labours of D'Anville, give us a very tolerable outline of Jerusalem and its vicinity.

Several of these plans have since been called in question, and endeavoured to be upset by Dr. E. D. Clarke, in order to make the plan which he has adopted agree with his ideas concerning the

* See also his Dissertation on the Extent of Ancient Jerusalem in the Appendix to Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii.

falsity of the places called Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre. His views have in turn been questioned; but the opponents of Dr. Clarke, powerful and accurate in some respects though they be, are yet liable to the objections urged against the map-makers—that they had *never visited* these places themselves. In later years, Mr. Buckingham has entered the field as a scientific inquirer respecting Jerusalem, its holy places, and its walls; but, independent of many inaccuracies, unwarranted assumptions, and self-contradictions, he too, in endeavouring to get rid of the objections urged against Clarke, has not only fallen into greater errors himself, but has taken up a position alike unauthorized by sacred and profane history, by analogy, and by a knowledge of the manners and customs of ancient nations, in placing the sites of the crucifixion and the burial *within* the walls of the ancient city.

Traveller after traveller, if they at all trouble their heads about the matter, simply state their opinions for, or against, the validity of Calvary, without advancing any reason for so doing, and these opinions are at variance up to the present hour. Again, all acknowledge that the modern city stands for the most part upon *some* of the space occupied by the ancient; and comparisons both as to their relative positions and relative sizes, have been constantly drawn and speculated on—from what? The paces of one person, or the time occupied in riding round it by another! So

that, up to a few years ago, no accurate map of modern Jerusalem was in existence. In 1835 this deficiency was supplied by Mr. Catherwood, who *surveyed* the place, and furnished a plan, of the accuracy of which there can be no manner of doubt. This plan I have adopted as the groundwork of the topography of the ancient city, some remains of which I hope to be able to show *still exist* in the modern, that will much assist us in our investigation.

So many works have been written upon the subject of the different hills, tombs, fountains, and sacred spots, genuine or traditionary, from the time of Quaresmius, Sandys, Pococke, Shaw, and from the more modern work of Chateaubriand, down to the date of that interesting little work, "Three Weeks in Palestine," or the popular description of the Holy Land, by the editor of the Modern Traveller, that, I presume, most of my readers are acquainted with those places; and, moreover, so many Englishmen have visited Judea within the last few years, that I feel I am addressing many who can test the accuracy of my opinion from their own personal observations, and whose recollections of the Holy City will enable them to go forward with me in this inquiry.

On the place where it is admitted that Jerusalem stood, there was originally a series of elevations of different heights, collected together in the form of a parallelogram. These were separated from the

surrounding "hill country," by deep valleys and ravines, that enclosed them upon three of their sides, the fourth merging into the neighbouring elevations. This collection of hills, besides the deep valleys by which (as a mass) they were encompassed, were separated from each other by minor hollows, following the natural position of the ground; these latter we may term the internal, the other the external, or the boundary valleys. The deepest and most extensive of these external ones ran nearly due north and south; its eastern sides rose gradually into a three-topt hill, called the Mount of Olives, while the opposite side was almost perpendicular, and formed the eastern boundary to *the series of hills.* This valley is known by the name of the valley of Jehoshaphat, the king's dale, or simply, The Valley. Through it passed an inconsiderable stream, called Kedron, which runs on through a continuation of this vale, in all likelihood into the Dead Sea.

The advantage of such a stream of water, and of so deep and sheltered a valley, would not be overlooked by those seeking the best situation whereon to erect a city. The second valley was to the south, and at right angles to the latter, running nearly east and west; it joined the first at its eastern corner, and was called the Valley of Tophet, or the valley of the children of Hinnom. Its sides were also steep, and on its outer or southern aspect, it had a hill, called by the moderns

"The Hill of Evil Counsel," and by more ancient writers, "The Mount of Offence;" and a small stream or water-course ran through it, called Gihon. The third valley was the least considerable of any; it was a continuation of the second that turned to the north, where it ended abruptly at a point, about midway opposite the centre of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. This was the Valley of Rephaim or Gihon, or the Valley of Giants; and the brook of Gihon flowed on through its centre.

The hills enclosed by these *external* valleys were, first — a conical eminence in the S. W. corner, sloping down to the S. E. It was of an oblong form, bounded on its two outer sides by the valleys of Hinnom and Rephaim, and part of that of Jehoshaphat; this was Mount Sion, and its western point was the highest within the circuit of the valleys. To the N.N.E. of Sion, was a lower hill, called in after days Acra; it was of greater extent, but less elevation. It had a somewhat curved or lunated shape, the concavity looking towards the south-east. It was separated from Mount Sion by a deep, but narrow valley, called by Josephus, Tyropæon, and afterwards, the valley of Cheese-mongers. Situate to the east of both, and extending from the point where Sion and Acra separated, and partly filling up the concavity of the latter, was the third and smallest hill, called Moriah. It was bounded by the valley of Jehoshaphat, on the east; Acra on the north-west; and

Sion, on the south-west; but separated from it by a continuation of the Tyropœon, or the valley of Millo, as it was sometimes called.

To the extreme north of all, was a gradually sloping ground, which in after days received the appellation of Bezetha. Upon the western side of this plateau of hills were two other smaller ones, necessary to be introduced here; the one Gareb, to the north; the other Gihon, a long sloping elevation, to the south.*

Such was the situation and original appearance of this very memorable spot, which at a very early period of the world's history became celebrated. Josephus says, that the first city in this place was built by Melchizedec upon the hill Acra, and was called Salem. This, according to our biblical chronology, occurred A. M. 2023; but the Jewish historian makes it in the 2559th year of the world.

The first notice which we have of Salem, is that related in the book of Genesis, xiv., xvii., and

* My meaning will be better understood by a reference to the accompanying plan of the hills and valleys, &c. formed by an accurate and laborious examination on the spot. I have in it endeavoured to reduce the ground, now covered by ruins, as much as possible to the state that it must have presented before any city was built upon it. I have also transferred to it Mr. Catherwood's plan of the modern city, but divested of those traditionary places which are completely foreign to my present purpose. For the workmanship of this map, I am much indebted to my friend, Mr. Charles B. Cradock, of the Ordnance Survey.

Dublin, Published by William Curry Jun.r & Co.r January 1840

xviii.;* where it is recorded that Abram, when returning from the slaughter of Chedorlaomer, was met by the king of Sodom, and Melchizedec, who was king of Salem, and priest of the Most High, in the vale of Shaveh, which is the king's dale, or the valley of Jehoshaphat.†

It is said, that fifty years after it was taken by the Jebusites, the descendants of Jebus, the son of Canaan, who erected a fortress on Mount Sion; a place that offered this warlike people an advantageous position for converting it into an acropolis, like that of most ancient cities. By these people it was first called Jerusalem, in memory of their forefather. Joshua, it is reported, made himself master of the lower city Acra, which the children of Israel retained in common with the original inhabitants, till David, in the eighth year of his reign, took the fortress of Sion, and drove the Jebusites down out of it, B. C. 1048; (2 Sam. v.) from which time it received the name of The City of David, to distinguish it from the lower city. It was included in the lot of Benjamin, and that of Judah ran by its walls on the southern side, through the valley of Hinnom. Here we have both Sion and Acra, or Salem, as it was originally

* It is also mentioned by David, Psalm lxxvi. 1, 2; and Psalm cx. 4.

† Chateaubriand and Mr. Buckingham include Mount Moriah within the city of Melchizedec, but I cannot see any warrant for such a supposition.

called, within the compass of Jerusalem. David fortified the acropolis, or upper city, from a place called Millo,* and inwards.

Solomon succeeded, and he commenced to build the temple on Mount Moriah, to the east of the then existing town. Concerning this hill there is a tradition among the Israelites to the present day; and it is also related in the Targum, that "Solomon began to build the house of the sanctuary of the Lord at Jerusalem, in the place where Abraham prayed and worshipped in the name of the Lord. This is the place of the earth where *all* generations shall worship the Lord. Here Abraham was about to offer his son Isaac for a burnt offering; but he was snatched away by the word of the Lord, and a ram placed in his stead. Here Jacob prayed when he fled from the face of Esau, his brother; and here the angel of the Lord appeared to David, at which time David built an altar unto the Lord in the threshing-floor, which he bought from Araunah, the Jebusite." At this period we see that the *three* hills originally mentioned became enclosed within the city, which then attained to a splendour and eminence that it has never since equalled. And now, in process of time, this city, after many unheeded warnings and denunciations, was wholly destroyed by that extraordinary instrument of the Almighty's power, Nebuchadnezzar, in the year of

* Millo appears to have been that internal valley called Tyropœon.

the world 3390, (2 Chron. xxxvi.) B. C. 610, and its inhabitants, carried away into captivity. After seventy years a new epoch takes place. The Chaldean empire passes into the Persian, and Cyrus gives permission to Zerubbabel to rebuild the temple, which is afterwards accomplished under Darius, (Ezra, vi.) but the city, walls remained prostrate, till the return of Nehemiah, B. C. 446. Now, at this time, though the walls and gates were broken down, yet their foundations must have remained, for not only was he able to trace the walls, but afterwards the people took particular and defined portions, some of which they rebuilt—others we read, that they only repaired. Now as we read of no other destruction of the city, we must suppose that this same wall remained in situ up to the days of our Saviour and Josephus. We therefore refer to the description of the Jewish antiquary, and with a map so constructed, and studying the natural position of the ground, we shall be able to trace the respective portions built by the Jews after the return from Babylon. There is, however, one exception to this. We learn from authentic sources, that the city becoming so populous, that it was unable to contain its inhabitants within its walls, a large suburb sprung up on the sloping ground, to the north of Acra. This in time became a part of the metropolis, and as the wall which separated it from the northern town would be of little use, it was in all probability neglected. In

process of time, when Judea became a Roman province, and wars and dissensions sprang up on all sides, Herod Agrippa encircled part of this northern suburb with a wall which was afterwards completed by the Jews themselves by permission of Claudius. The part thus added was called Bezetha Cenopolis, or the *new* city, in contra-distinction to Salem, or the *old* city, or Sion or the *upper* city. I introduce this here because it is a valid objection to *all* the maps, plans, and topographical dissertations that have ever been written upon Jerusalem; for the persons who have made those plans have fallen into the error of placing the gates and other landmarks mentioned by the early Scripture writers and particularly by Nehemiah in this outer northern wall of Agrippa, which was not built for many centuries after. Other geographers have marked separate portions of the wall, as that built by Manasseh, &c. but this appears to me to have been built round an *internal* portion of the City of David, on Mount-Sion, probably between it and Acra, (2 Chron. xxxiii,) and both this wall and that of Hezekiah were before the time of Nebuchadnezzar's destruction, and they consequently merged into the walls of Nehemiah. We now turn to the text of Josephus, which as it has often been tortured and perverted, I shall here introduce verbatim. The bare reading of the description given of the city in the fourth chapter of the fifth book of the "Wars of the Jews" will not however

put us in possession of all that the learned antiquary knew, or related of the situation of the different walls and towers; for in numberless other places he enters into a detail of the parts attacked and defended, from which we learn more than from those particularly allotted to their explanation.

"The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls, on such parts as were not encompassed with unpassable valleys; for in such places it hath but one wall.* The city was built upon two hills, which are opposite to one another, and have a valley to divide them asunder, at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly it was called the Citadel by King David; he was father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first, but by us it is called the Upper Market-Place. But the other hill which was called Acra, and sustains the lower city is of the shape of a moon when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted formerly from the others by a broad valley. However in those times, when the Asamoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had

* Many persons understand this to mean three concentric walls, and that in some places, all three existed opposite one another, whereas, not one of the walls encompassed more than half of the city. (See Map.)

a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off the part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it." And in another place describing the temple he says—"At first the plain at the top was hardly sufficient for the holy house and the altar, for the ground about it was very uneven, and like a precipice; but when King Solomon, who was the person that built the temple, had built a wall to it on its *east side*, there was then added one cloister, founded on a bank cast up for it, and on the other parts the holy house stood naked. But in future ages the people added new banks, and the hill became a larger plain." This hill is Mount Moriah, and these pillars and supports still exist, and were seen by Maundrell and others, and it is also stated by Josephus that it was joined to Mount Sion by a bridge.

"Now the valley of Cheese-mongers (or Tyropœon,) as it was called, and was that which we told you before, distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain that hath sweet water in it, and this in great plenty also."

Of the fourth hill, he says, "for as the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned

that hill, which is in number the fourth, and is called Bezetha, to be inhabited also."

Having now become acquainted with the ground on which the city stood, let us endeavour to follow out its walls and towers. The lines marked RED in the map, show the walls of the modern city, except along the eastern side, which being also the boundary of the ancient city I have retained in BROWN, which colour marks the ancient wall.

The same Jewish historian tells us that on the outside, the hills of Jerusalem were "surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices to them belonging on both sides, they are every where unpassable." He informs us that there were three walls which he describes in their numerical order, as regards their age; but in his account of the siege, he reverses them and makes the third or Agrippa's wall the first, because it was first taken by Titus.

The first wall began at the tower Hippicus. This tower I have placed in the western wall, and believe that if it be not the same as that now called the Castle of David, or the Castle of the Pisans, and in which we find a most remarkable foundation of solid ancient masonry, that it at least stands on the basement of this ancient building. The stones of this tower are put together in that manner denominated "revealed rustic," having a deep groove at the joinings. This method of building seems

to be of very ancient date, though not at all peculiar to the Jews. It indeed appears more truly Grecian than any other I know of, and is frequently found in different ruins of that country, and is well exhibited in some parts of the walls of Mycenæ. It is however of much later date than some other, and more purely Jewish or Phœnician masonry, that I hope to point out hereafter. . This tower was erected by Agrippa, and it agrees in every respect with the description of the historian, except that it is a little more southward; a mistake rectified by giving it a northern position, with regard to the upper city on Mount Sion; and it is remarkable that Titus, we are told in two places left this same tower *standing*, being struck with the strength and beauty of the work.* It is situated on the northern rise of Sion, to the right of the Jaffa gate, and is surrounded by a deep trench; and outside, the valley of Gihon or Rephaim, turns by it to the west along the causeway, that here leads by the turning of the wall, and on which the road conducts into the city. The upper part of the wall is of modern masonry, and the stones are totally different from those at the foundation. It is now the citadel or strong-hold of the town, was garrisoned during our visit by the troops of Ibrahim, and was the only place not taken by the Arabs during the rebellion a few years ago. It mounts a few small

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, b. vi. chap. 9, and b. ix. chap. 1.

cannon, which at that time greatly annoyed the family of Mr. Nicolayson, whose residence is just opposite to it. I have been thus accurate in the description of this tower, as it is not only a most remarkable remnant of the ancient city, but also serves as a central point to all the different walls, &c. From its northern side the Tyropœon valley commenced, and pursuing a semi-circular course, between Sion and Acra, emerged at the southern end of Moriah, near the fountain Siloam.

Now Josephus informs us that the *first* wall "began on the north, at the tower called Hippicus, and extended as far as the Xistus, a place so called, and then adjoining to the Council-house, ended at the west cloister of the temple. But if we go the other way, westward, it began at the same place and extended through a place called Bethso, to the gate of Essens; and after that it went southward, having its bending above the fountain Siloam, where it also bends again towards the east, at Solomon's pool, (evidently the lower pool of Siloam,) and reaches as far as a certain place which they called Ophlas (probably Ophel) when it was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple." In laying down the outline, and defining the extent of this wall, I have followed the natural lie of the ground, enclosing the brow of the hill Sion, and where the appearance of the rocks and acclivities above the several valleys of Gihon, Hinnom, and that southern extremity of Jehosaphat, sometimes called the valley

of Siloam, point out an evident marking for such, as seen in the curves and indentations opposite both the fountain and the pool of Siloam, to be pointed out when following the course of Nehemiah's walls.

"The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called Genneth, which belonged to the first wall; it only encompassed the northern quarter of the city, and reached as far as the tower Antonia." In order to trace this wall with any degree of accuracy, we must first inquire whether there be any existing remains of, or where stood Antonia—a place of exceeding interest, during the siege of Titus, and in the history of the city for some time previous. On entering St. Stephen's gate, on the left hand, adjoining the eastern end of the pool of Bethesda, of the outer wall of which it forms a part, are the remains of an ancient tower, the stones of which are of enormous size, some of them being twenty feet long, and the architecture of which is Cyclopean, as will be described hereafter. Some portions of the walls of this edifice are as high as those of the city. Beside it is a small entrance into the court of the Hareem Shereef, which it overlooks, and some broken steps formed of great stones lead to the top. This remnant of the ancient city corresponds in situation to that of one of the minor turrets, and fortifications of the castle of Antonia. Josephus described this castle as "situated at the corner of the two cloisters of the court of the temple,

of that on the west and that on the north, and built upon a rock fifty cubits high, on every side inaccessible." The castle itself was forty cubits high, of great size and magnificence. He says it was a tower surrounded by four other towers, one at every corner; those on the south and east side, being seventy cubits high, the two others but fifty cubits, so that from the highest there was a perfect view of the temple. On either side there was a flight of steps for the soldiers to come down out of it into the temple, for a band of Roman soldiers always lodged there, and guarded the temple; and they remained under arms on festival days, lest the people should attempt a riot, or rebellion; for it commanded both the sacred edifice and the town. At that period we learn that it was the citadel of the lower part of Jerusalem, and it was in all probability the castle spoken of in the Acts, (chap. xxi. to xxiii.) from which the soldiers ran down to rescue Paul, when the tumult arose, and he was driven out of the temple. Nay, it may have been from these very stairs which still remain in the north-eastern tower, that he preached to the people. I was never allowed to ascend those steps; and one day on attempting it, a green-turbaned descendant of the prophet drove me off, in not the most friendly manner, and spat upon me as I retired, calling me a Nazarene.

The fortifications of Antonia, I conceive extended across the whole of the upper inclosure

of the outer court, though the tower itself was placed at the north-western side, and Sandys observed part of its foundations at the western part of the wall of the pool of Bethesda. This second wall, which topographers have completely omitted, I conceive to have commenced in the sloping ground to the east of the place marked Calvary.* It then ascended the side of Acra to the north of the Tyropœon, and crossing over the southern horn of Acra, joined to Antonia. In this wall were two other towers, Phasaelus and Mariamne; these stood on the summit of the hill, and overlooked and commanded a great portion of the city. This is sometimes called "the old wall," and "the middle wall," and appears to be the "broad wall" of the inspired writers.

"The beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city and tower Psephinus." This latter was of an octagon shape, and situated in the north-west corner; it is described as being a building of great magnificence, seventy cubits in height, and affording a prospect of Arabia, at sun-rising, as well as the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions toward the sea westward. Titus pitched his own tent immediately outside it. To trace this wall

* May not the gate of Genneth, mentioned by Josephus, be the gate of Goath, a name, not without good reason, applied to the place of the crucifixion?

from Hippicus to Psephinus is a difficult task, for in doing this we encounter in our way, the disputed site of the holy sepulchre, and those who deny the identity of that place will, no doubt, say, that it is thus constructed, to meet the objection; but a careful examination of the ground, and of the *several* walls and cities, that have existed on this spot, will clear away many of the prejudices that have been entertained against its validity. The commencement of the wall was, in all probability, at the N. E. angle of the castle of David, or tower of Hippicus, because the ancient fosse, connected externally with the valley still surrounds the north side. The wall then sank into the Tyropœon, and joined the hill of Acra at its S. W. curve, opposite the small or shallow *depression*, in which stood Calvary, and where it was joined by the central, or second wall of Josephus, at Genneth. Now, bearing in mind the crescentic, or semilunar form and position of the hill Acra, which just here has its convexity toward the west, we must of necessity carry the wall along the brow of what we are expressly told was the old or lower city of Jerusalem that occupied this hill *alone*. The bending of this (naturally surrounding the hill) brings us a little eastward; and at the Bal-el-Shem, or gate of Damascus, are the remains of some old towers, the masonry, the construction, and the stones whereof demand particular attention; for they are similar to those in the northern wall of

the enclosure of the Hareem Shereef that I referred to before. From this point it appears to me that the wall of *ancient* Jerusalem, long prior to the days of Herod Agrippa, was extended in a north-*eastern* direction, still following the outline of Acra, and by tracing it in this direction, we shall be able to follow the course of Nehemiah's wall. From that point outward, toward the N. is the district of Bezetha or Cenopolis, the part enclosed by the Roman governor; and that from David's castle to the Damascus gate, must have been the *ancient* city wall, even in the days of the Jewish historian which followed the *natural* course of the ground that I have laid down. From the Damascus gate, this wall proceeded to the tower Psephinus, up the gentle slope of Bezetha, in a N.W. direction. The historian tells us that it "*then* was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena, which Helena was queen of Adiabne, the mother of Izates;" it then extended (or was prolonged) *farther to a great length*, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the kings;" or, to use a more critical translation, the royal caves, (σπηλαιων βασιλικων.) Now, here we come to another disputed point. Modern antiquaries not finding the monuments of Helena, must needs make the tombs of the kings, or royal caves, the places just referred to. This opinion was first proposed by Pococke, and it has since been adopted by Clarke and others, who not only

endeavour to make the two places synonymous, but conduct the Bezethean wall *beyond* the royal caves, and enclose them *within* the circuit of the city; a line I do not think at all warranted, for, we find these very monuments of the queen of Adiabne thus spoken of by Josephus. After the death of Helena and Izates, her son, Monobazus, "sent her bones, as well as those of Izates, his brother, to Jerusalem, and gave orders that they should be buried at the *pyramids*, which their mother had erected; they were three in number, and distant more than three furlongs from the city of Jerusalem;" evidently referring to the ancient or Nehemiahan wall. Now those pyramids were in existence up to the time of Eusebius, who as well as Pausanius, Valesius, and others, mention them; and the very fact of their destruction may be accounted for by their not being cut out of the rock, like the royal caves, but being erected above ground, they would be plundered for their contents, to assist in constructing more modern works. The text of the historian is, I conceive, too plain to require a further refutation of this objection, for he expressly says, "*it then extended to a great length, and passed by the royal caves,*" very properly leaving this burial-place outside the city wall. But, to resume, having passed the sepulchres it "bent again at the tower of the corner, (or more correctly *with* a tower at the corner,) at the monument which is

called the Monument of the Fuller, and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Kedron." Where the pathway leading toward Galilee and Samaria crosses this line of wall, we find the evident and decided traces of the foundation of what appeared a gate, and leading east and west from it the remains of masonry is distinguishable. I have, therefore, made this the most northern part of the wall, and marked it in the map "Ancient Remains." Other traces of this wall, *south* of the royal caves were visible in the days of Pococke in 1778, toward the N. W. corner.

We have now completed the three walls of Josephus, by joining that last described to the ancient wall, at the valley of Jehoshaphat, or Kedron, near the ancient Fish-gate; but there is still a part of the city, on the east, un-encompassed by Josephus, that is, from the Fish-gate to Ophel, the place from whence we commenced at the S. W. corner of the temple. One-half of this wall he describes in another place, when speaking of the temple and its courts, as built by Solomon himself, upon the east side of it; all the rest of the house being at that time unenclosed. This refers not to the walls of the temple itself, but to the enclosure made round the brow of Mount Moriah. From the northern point of that wall, that is, from the tower that I described at page 233, to the Fish-gate, where it met the wall of Agrippa, the historian seems to understand as the "old wall," a term applied to it

as well as to the second, or "middle," or broad wall of Scripture.

Having thus completed the circuit of the city at the time of the Roman invasion and its destruction by Titus, let us take up the Scriptures and see whether these walls or any part of them correspond to those repaired by Nehemiah.* In the year B. C. 445, Artaxerxes, King of Babylon, to which country Judea was then tributary, gave permission to Nehemiah to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, broken down by Nebuchadnezzar.

The inhabitants took this work in parts, and it is said finished it in the astonishingly short time of fifty-two days. "Then Eleazshib, the high-priest, rose up with his brethren the priests, and they builded the Sheep-gate."† This, from its position with regard to Bethesda, (John, v. 2.) and its being in the east wall, I think there can be now little doubt corresponded in situation to the present gate of St. Stephen to the north of the enclosure of the temple—and it may have received its name from being the gate at which the

* Nehemiah, iii.

† Doctor Adam Clarke, perhaps the most learned and critical biblical scholar of our time, speaks thus upon our knowledge of this ancient wall in his day—"we really know scarcely any thing about these gates, what they were, why called by these names, or in what part of the wall situated. All the places of Jerusalem, its temples, walls, and gates, are mere works of conjecture; and yet how *learnedly* have some men written on all these subjects!"

sacrifices were brought in, and this supposition is strengthened by its proximity to the temple. From that they sanctified it to the towers of Meah and Hananeel, which latter was in the north-east angle of the wall. Now in considering the expressions used in this third chapter of Nehemiah, we must remark, that some only was built, some repaired and set up, and other parts were sanctified; and from this we can absolutely trace the state of dilapidation of the different portions of the wall. From the tower of Hananeel, a small part of the wall was built as far as the Fish-gate, by Zaccur and the men of Jericho. This gate appears to have been placed at the extreme angle of the eastern wall, and the north-eastern point of the northern horn of Acra, and its situation, if restored, would be about one hundred and fifty yards from the modern wall, just above a declivity that divided Acra from Bezetha. The gate was built by the sons of Hassenaah.

Here we arrive at the northern brow of Acra, and must necessarily trace our wall along it, following the ravine I mentioned by the Fish-gate. This hollow still exists, and on its sides are several olives and fig-trees. Others completed the repairs up to the Old-gate, which was repaired by Jehoiada and Meshullam. This and the gate of Ephraim, were the same, and it appears to have been placed in the northern quarter, and may have been the Damascus gate of that day. From the old gate we still follow the boundary of Acra, and here we

arrive at the "Tower of the corner." This place, though not mentioned in this portion of Scripture, is very clearly marked out in several other parts, to be described hereafter. From thence the wall was repaired by Melatiah, Jadon, and the men of Gibeon, and Mizpah "unto the throne of the governor on this side the river." This brings us somewhere near the antique masonry before noticed in the present gate of Damascus, where the wall of Agrippa springs off, and from hence to the tower of Hananeel; I have marked it in the map, "Nehemiah's wall." This was probably the governor appointed by the Persian king over Jerusalem. Some difficulty arises here, regarding the river mentioned in the 7th verse, none such now existing; but originally, when a ditch surrounded the walls, water may have been conveyed through it; especially as some way above this we find *within the present town*, the large cistern called the Pool of Ezekiel, lying on the course of the fosse that was outside the ancient wall; and again, near the north-east corner of the present wall, we find a *stream-way* running into the brook Kedron, which in the rainy season, I was informed, becomes a river in the sense there understood. Nay more, Pococke mentions a pool in the streets, near the holy sepulchre, which was filled with water in his day, and supposed it to be connected with the upper pool of Gihon.

The next portion was repaired and fortified by Uzziel and Hananiah "unto the Broad Wall," which

I consider to have been the second wall of Josephus, which meets the outer wall at this point opposite to Calvary. Rephaiah, Jedaiah, Hattush, Malchijah, and Hashub, carried forward the repairs to "the tower of the furnaces." This stood somewhere between the broad wall and the Castle of David. The remainder of the repairs on the north-west side of the city were completed by "Shallum and his daughters," to a point near the commencement of Mount Sion, where it is enclosed by the valley of Millo, or Tyropœon.

The sacred historian now turns to another point of the wall, which most likely was commenced at the same time as the sheep-gate, and continued in a south-west course round the hill of Sion. He says, the "Valley-gate repaired Hanun and the inhabitants of Zanoah." This gate was in the extremity of the Tyropœon, where the hill forms a natural curve above the Fountain of Siloam. It was out of this gate the prophet rode on that memorable night, when he rose and viewed the desolation of the city, and in that part of the description the Fountain of Siloam is called "the Dragon Well." (Neh. ii. 13.) A little further south was "the Dung-gate repaired by Malchiah"—this was also in the Tyropœon valley, and was the general outlet for the filth of the city—nearly in the same place in the modern wall, there is a port of this name, but which was filled up at the time of our visit. "But the gate of the fountain repaired Shallum the son of Colhozeh; he built

it, and covered it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof, and the wall of the pool of Siloah, by the King's gardens, and unto the stairs that go down from the City of David." This line is very plainly laid down indeed, and serves materially to fix two or three remarkable objects. This Fountain-gate was but a very short distance from the valley gate, and here, as we do not read of any intervening wall between them being repaired, that portion of the wall must have been very small. The walls of the pool, and the fountain of Siloah were also repaired. The wall was then continued by the King's gardens, which were situated in the gentle slope leading down to the brook Kedron. Strange to say, such is the use made of this ground at present; we found it laid out in plots and vegetable gardens belonging to the opposite village of Siloam. It then turned into the concavity, where the pool of Siloam is placed; and where a steep declivity and scarped rock offers a probable site for the Stairs of the City of David.

Nehemiah repaired the part "*over against the sepulchres of David*, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." Directly opposite this part of the line are placed those extraordinary rock-carved sepulchres in the side of the ravine that rises up from the other side of the valley of Hinnom, which are said to have been *discovered* by a celebrated *modern* traveller. This lower pool of Siloam, or "the pool that was made," is sometimes

called "the King's pool;" (Neh. ii. 14.) and by Josephus it is styled Solomon's pool; it is placed in the indentation opposite the south-east angle of the wall. The Levites and others repaired it "up to the Armoury"* at the turning of the wall. This I conceive to have been placed at the south-western angle, and here the wall has several turnings in it to encompass the southern brow of Sion; till it meets the castle of David, where we finished on the northern circuit. All this part from the turning of the wall, was repaired by Baruch, Meremoth, Benjamin, and others unto the corner—that is, the corner opposite David's Castle. Near this latter Palal repaired another piece over against "the tower which lieth out from the King's high house that was by the court of the prison. After him Pedaiah, the son of Paroth;" each opposite to his own house. Here then, we have the city encircled upon three

* This armoury appears to be that referred to in the Song of Solomon, (ch. iv. v. 4,)—"Thy neck is like the towers of David, builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men." This practice of hanging the shields upon the tower, I have dwelt upon before at page 114 of this volume, and Sandys says that, in his day, "the tower of David (whose ruins are yet extant) of wonderful strength, and admirable beauty (was) adorned with shields and the arms of the mighty." I may also remark upon the above portion of Scripture that, whether it be an allegory, or however it may be spiritualized in the present day, it appears to have had a literal meaning and a personal application at the time it was written; and to this hour it is sung as a love-song, both by the Hebrews and by the Arabs of the desert, from Babylon to Tadmor.

of its sides, and then the prophet turns to the east again : "Moreover, the Nethinims dwelt in Ophel, and repaired unto the place over against the Water-gate, toward the east, and the Tower that lieth out." We here reach the modern wall again, which corresponds to that of the ancient; and I have little doubt that in it is part of the foundations of that wall repaired by Nehemiah. This tower "that lieth out" must, however, be carefully distinguished from that on the western side, near the castle of David. This district is the Ophlas of Josephus. But to proceed, the wall here turns sharply to the east, for a short distance and at a right angle with that running north at Ophel. This side of it faced the north of the great tower "that lieth out," which was four square, and was the part repaired by the Tekoites.

The next place spoken of is the Horse-gate—this was placed at the south-east angle of the outer enclosure of the court of the temple, corresponding to the modern wall, outside the Mosque of Omar. When Athalia cried out treason at the anointing of Joash, in the court of the temple, Jehoiada the priest ordered the captains to have her brought forth of the ranges, or the court of the sanctuary, and not to slay her in the house of the Lord, so they took her forth, "and when she was come to the entering of the Horse-gate, they slew her there." (2 Chr. xxiii. 12, 15.) Thus it appears to have been one of the gates leading immediately from the outer sanctuary—moreover, it was nigh to the

the place where Solomon is supposed to have erected his celebrated stables, the remains of which are stated by some of the early writers on Jerusalem to have existed even up to the time of the crusades. It may have received its name from the horses having been led out to water, at the adjacent water-course; and in later times Herod constructed his hippodrome a short distance to the south-west of it, near the valley gate. Some Rabbins have supposed that in order to go to the temple, a person might go on horseback to this gate and then alight.

From this point we read that the priests who we know resided within the enclosure of the temple repaired "every one over against his own house." By following this line we continue on by the straight wall of the present city, to the east of Omar's mosque; but we are told that before the workmen arrived at the place where we originally set out there were corners and turnings; nay, that Malchiah repaired unto the place of the Nethinims, on which we have already turned our back. This is all reconciled, however, by following the course of the *inner* or *western* enclosure wall of the temple, as well as the strait outer wall, when we arrive at the Sheep-gate, where we originally commenced. The gate Miphkad, repaired by Malchiah, was in this inner western enclosure wall, and somewhere near its N.W. corner.

As the royal palace formed a conspicuous object in the circuit of the walls, the ascertaining of its precise locality is an object of importance in a

topographical point of view. It was situated somewhere within the walls near to the King's gardens, and between the fountain and the valley gates; it is called in the 3rd of Nehemiah, and 16th verse, "the house of the mighty," and in the 12th chapter and 37th verse, "the house of David."

There are likewise other gates spoken of in Scripture, to which it is necessary to give if possible, a locality; these are the High-gate, and the East-gate; which I understand to be synonymous with the gate of Benjamin. This was in the eastern wall, midway between the Sheep-gate, and the Horse-gate. When Joash commenced his reign he took the people *down* from the house of the Lord, and they came through the High-gate, (2 Chr. xxiii. 20, and xxvii. 3.) King Jotham repaired this gate; and Jeremiah the prophet, when leaving Jerusalem to go to the land of Benjamin, was arrested in the gate of Benjamin. (Jer. xxxvii. 12, 13.) Now, as the land or lot of the tribe of Benjamin was eastward of Jerusalem, it is but natural to suppose that he went out on the east side, and that this was the same gate we read of in the twentieth chapter and second verse, where the prophet is put in the stocks—"in the *High* gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the LORD." I shall have occasion to mention this gate again in the topography of another city, under the name of the Golden-gate.

Biblical scholars, and those who feel an interest in anything relating to this remarkable city, can now

take up the twelfth chapter of Nehemiah, and trace upon the map how the different parties proceeded at the time of the dedication.

Before we commence the description of the present modern wall, a very interesting inquiry presents itself. Are there besides those I have already enumerated, any existing remains of this ancient Jerusalem, that I have just described?

Many persons understand the denunciation of our blessed Lord, that one stone should not be left standing upon another, as applying to the entire city; but this appears to others to have been uttered against the *temple* in particular, whose demolition is so complete, that I do not suppose one particle of the dust into which its ruins crumbled could now be found. For independent of the plunder and destruction it underwent, when fired by the Roman soldiers under Titus, we learn that Terentius Rufus tore up the very foundations of the temple with a plough-share. Jerusalem became heaps, as was prophesied by Micah the Morashite in the days of Hezekiah: "Zion shall be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps, and the mountain of the HOUSE, as the high places of the forest." (Micah, iii. 12.)

But there are parts of the present wall of the city so truly remarkable, that they demand the strictest inquiry. These parts are found on the east side, opposite the Mount of Olives, above the steepest part of the Valley of Jehosaphat, and

rising above the present Turkish burial-ground. They form part of the outer enclosure of the mosque of Omar, commencing to the right of St. Stephen's gate, and reaching to the south-eastern corner, where the wall turns over part of Mount Moriah, and onward to Mount Sion. We found the lower part of the city wall formed of stones of enormous size, such as are not to be seen elsewhere in Jerusalem, or even in any part of Judea, except those noticed by Captain Mangles at Hebron, in the sepulchres of Abraham, upwards of twenty-five feet long. They are oblong blocks of *hewn* marble, very hard, and of a yellowish-white colour. Many that I measured in this wall, were twenty-four feet long, three feet deep, and five feet six inches broad, for some being corner stones at the base of an ancient tower, allowed me to determine this point. On the inner side of the wall are some, upwards of thirty feet long; in general they run to twenty by six feet square. They are put together according to that order of Cyclopean architecture, where squared masses of stone were laid horizontally in courses, with intervals between each, the spaces being filled up with smaller stones, connected by strong cement. On the top of this is raised the present modern wall, as around the rest of the city. In some places this ancient work reaches up so far as to form one-half of the whole height, in others not above fifteen feet; much, however, of the foundation being concealed by the increased elevation of the surrounding

ground. This, it will be remembered, formed not only the outer enclosure of the temple, but of the city itself, which had *here* but *one* wall; the deep natural fosse of the valley beneath affording it a sufficient protection. Some architectural similarity to this enormous work is found in the Palasgian walls of Italy, as at Valterra, Lodi, and Cortona, and other cities of Etruria; but in no part of Greece have I met stones of such dimensions, not even in the Cyclopéan walls of Tyrns, or the Pnix. All these latter are said to be the product of Phœnician workmanship, as well as those of Jerusalem, which we know were reared by the Tyrians. These two different forms of architecture at the top and bottom are not without their parallel elsewhere; for in Pompeii the upper part of the wall points out a period much more modern than that at which the lower part was erected.

This ancient work is continued round the southern corner, at the place where I have marked the site of the Horse-gate, and around Ophel to the modern Dung-gate, where it is the highest point of the city wall; nearly ninety feet high; and this part, it will be remembered, was raised up by Jotham and Manasseh, kings of Judah. A clergyman of the Church of England says of this wall—"We calculated that it was here about 100 feet in height, and it was composed of evenly cut blocks of very *remarkable size*, such as are to be found in no other part, which have been evi-

dently used or designed for some *anterior* purpose. One or two that we measured were twenty-two feet in length, by four in height."*

Again, on the western side of the wall that surrounds the enclosure of the mosque, there is the most perfect specimen of this ancient wall. It seems to extend a considerable way, but I was only allowed to examine it in an enclosure of about 200 yards long, where it is quite perfect, and rises to the full height of the wall. This is the western wall, which shut out the temple and Mount Moriah from the city, and the valley of Acra. Josephus informs us that in his time there was no gate in this part; and I am informed that no appearance of any can be now discerned in this old wall.

This enclosure is generally a place of the most intense interest, for it is here that the Jews go to weep, and mourn, and lament over Jerusalem; opposite to that which tradition leads them to believe is a part of the walls of their former city. I never visited this spot that I did not find it occupied by some of the Israelites. At all hours, late and early, there were they to be found; some sitting and rocking backwards and forwards, praying in a low,

* "Three Weeks in Palestine." The author of this interesting little work, however, supposes that they were the stones used by Julian, the apostate, in his impious endeavour to rebuild the temple; but it so happens that this was *not* the temple wall, but that common to its outer enclosure, and to the city, and they correspond in every particular with the line of the ancient wall.

wailing tone, their faces turned towards the east; others standing motionless, and gazing intently upon the solid wall, their arms devoutly crossed upon their breast, and tear chasing tear down the cheek of many a silver-bearded patriarch; others whispering into its crevices, or kissing its sacred stones. For Judah mourneth; "all her gates are desolate; her priests sigh, her virgins are afflicted, and she is in bitterness." (Lam. i. 4.) The question of Sanballat rose to my lips, "what do these feeble Jews? will they revive the stones out of the heaps of rubbish which are burnt." (Neh. iv. 2.) But the voice of the Psalmist answered me, "Thou shalt arise, and have mercy upon Zion; for the time to favour her, yea, the set time is come. For thy servants take pleasure in her *stones*, and favour the dust thereof." (Ps. cii. 13, 14.)

Doctor Richardson has described some ancient remains, called "Berça Solymon," a subterranean colonnade supporting the lower edge of this enclosure, called Hareem Shereef. He says, that the stones are five feet long, bevelled at the joinings like "revealed rustic." The style and cutting of these stones are quite different, he states, from any other architecture at Jerusalem, and unlike any he ever saw, except the foundation-stones in the temple at Baalbec. He thinks it not improbable that those stones may have been the ones used for the temple, as the workmanship is decidedly Jewish. Stones of a similar cutting and manner

of joining are to be found in the lower part of the castle of David, or the tower Hippicus, as I have marked it on Mount Sion; but this style is of a much later date than that exhibited in the outer wall just described.*

These remains, with those in the pool of Bethesda,

* While correcting these pages for the press, I have been forwarded the American Biblical Repository, in which there is an interesting memoir, read before the Geographical Society of Berlin, of a journey undertaken for the illustration of biblical geography, by the Rev. E. Smith, and Professor E. Robinson, of the New York Theological Seminary. That portion of it on Jerusalem so far confirms my views and observations upon this subject, that I subjoin the following extract. Speaking of the enclosure of the mosque of Omar, the writer says—"At the first view of these walls I was led to the conviction that these *lower* portions had belonged to the ancient temple, and were to be referred back at least to the time of Herod, if not to the days of Nehemiah or Solomon. This conviction was afterwards strengthened by our discovering near the S. W. corner, in the western wall, the remains, or rather the foot of an immense arch springing out from the wall in the direction towards Mount Sion, across the Valley of Tyropœon. The traces of this arch are too distinct and definite to be mistaken; and it can only have belonged to the bridge, which, according to Josephus, led from this part of the temple area to the Xistus on Mount Sion; thus proving incontestably the antiquity of that portion of the wall from which it springs." As I feel assured that these gentlemen would not *wilfully* oppose, or endeavour to disprove, so awful a denunciation—one coming from the lips of Divinity itself, and one of which so manifest and literal fulfilment has taken place with regard to the *temple* of Jerusalem—I conceive that they only look upon it as the wall of the outer enclosure. It is, however, proper that this should be distinctly understood, that this square line of wall is *not* the temple wall, nor stood within some hundred feet of that sacred edifice, but was the wall of the enclosure of the *outer court* of that building.

the lower part of David's castle, the gate of Damascus, and another gate, which I shall speak of hereafter, are all, even of the stones that mark the ancient city; the ground-plan of which being now so far beneath the surface, accounts for so very little having yet been discovered. The valleys and deep ravines through the town, where we read that bridges were of old thrown across, and steps led up to the temple, (the foundations of which were constructed of large masses of rock; probably those on which Dr. Richardson described the colonnade as resting,) were filled up with the stones and rubbish of the former city, which were hurled into them at the time of its destruction. At present the city is comparatively level, excepting that part leading towards the west; and Dr. Richardson, in speaking of the Habsul, or the hidden place here described, says it appears as if the earth had dropped through from the outer court, and that these columns were *once* above the surface.*

Walls constructed of stones of such magnitude as those I have described, surrounding the western enclosure of the mosque, in the east wall of the city, and in the tower, tell us that they belong to an era more than nineteen centuries old. No antiquary will, I think, be able to point out any such archi-

* These subterranean remains have been further described by Mr. Bonomi. See Dr. Edward Hogg's visit to Alexandria and Damascus.

tecture *since* the Christian era. Parallels are only to be found amidst such structures as Baalbec—the magnificent theatre at Telmessus—the treasury of Areteus, the walls of the Piræus at Athens, the Cothon at Joppa, or the pyramids and gigantic temples of Upper Egypt, and Abyssinia. Stones of this description were used in Jerusalem from the earliest time—"hewn stones," stones of great size," ten and twenty cubits in length, both in the building of the temple and the city wall. And Josephus not only informs us of the general strength of the walls, but of *this* in particular, which was so strong, and the stones of such magnitude, that the Romans were unable to throw *it* down, and Titus himself on entering the city expressed his wonder and admiration at the extreme thickness of these walls. Again, on the east side, the very peculiar nature of the ground, and the steepness of the ravine that falls from it; together with the valley of Jehosaphat, doubtless contributed to render it secure; and consequently the battering rams and engines of the besiegers could not without great difficulty have been applied to it—though I much doubt if such instruments could have taken effect on walls of such solidity. And I believe I am correct in stating that unless in the late attack by Ibrahim Basha, cannon were never used against Jerusalem. Thus then we see that there was a physical impossibility of this wall being demolished at that time.

Now Josephus informs us that as soon as the

army had no more people to slay, Cæsar gave orders that they should demolish the entire city and temple, but leave a certain portion of the wall, together with the towers of Phaselus, Hippicus, and Mariamne. "This wall was spared, in order to afford a camp for such as were to lie in garrison; as were the towers also spared in order to demonstrate to posterity what kind of city it was, and how well fortified, which the Roman valour had subdued: but for all the rest of the wall, it was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundation, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither to believe it had ever been inhabited."*

A mistake occurs in the text of the historian here, in making the portion left standing by the Romans, the western wall; for that, upon his own showing, was destroyed long before, not having the same natural defences as this. Thus we have the concurrent testimonies of the appearance and architecture of the existing wall; the written account of Josephus; the traditions of the Jews, (and we know not only to what lengths they carry such, but that there were always Jews in the place, who would hand them down through successive generations;) besides the prophecy of the Word of God. And wherefore would the Psalmist have foretold the servants taking "pleasure in her stones,"

* Josephus' Wars of the Jews, b. vii. chap. i.

if none such existed? What scenes has it not witnessed—what scenes has it not yet to behold!

There is a very remarkable appearance observable in those parts of the ground around Jerusalem on which the ancient city stood; and when the place is viewed from the Mount of Olives, or any adjacent elevation, it is possible by it to trace out the probable extent of the ancient city. This is a peculiar blackness of the ground, perfectly different from the reddish yellow colour of the neighbouring fields. I have observed the sites of other cities composed of this kind of soil; but here a great quantity of the remains of tesselated pavement, with bits of white and yellow marble, are mixed through it.

Eusebius states the circumference of ancient Jerusalem to have been twenty-seven stadia, and Josephus thirty-three. The circuit of the walls in the accompanying map is but thirty-one stadia, or three miles and seven-eighths. Should apology be required for this disagreement with the Jewish historian, I can only answer, that such was the line marked out to me on an examination of the ground.

The modern town occupies not quite two-thirds of the ancient, and is two and a-half miles in circumference. Its eastern wall is that which I already described as belonging to the ancient city; the southern proceeds from Ophel, over the summit of Mount Sion, where it turns to the N. and

joins the Castle of David, the ancient Hippicus. From this the western wall is very irregular, and completely devoid of any of the natural ravines that fence the city in other parts; it is that probably built by the Emperor Ælianus Adrianus, hence called Ælia Capitolina; in it he laboured to confound and *obliterate* the ancient topography, and hence perhaps its present irregular form. It includes Calvary, and at the western angle a part of the elevation of Goath; it then slopes downward to the Damascus gate, where it becomes the northern boundary, proceeding along the brow of Acra, till it joins the eastern wall at the place that is assigned to the tower of Hananeel. William of Tyre tells us that the walls erected by Adrian were so placed, "that the scene of our Lord's passion and resurrection, which had before been without the walls, was now included within their circuit." It is also stated by the same celebrated historian, that "the Golgotha, and the place where the cross was discovered, as well as the place where the body was anointed, were formerly small oratories *without* the church." These walls, renewed by the Saracens and Crusaders, are still in good preservation, and for the greater part of their circuit are from thirty to sixty feet high.

CHAPTER VI.

JERUSALEM.

Promise of a New City—The Labours of Mr. Fry—Prophecies—Lines of the Prophetic City—Tower of Hananeel—The Eastern Wall—The Northern Boundary—Goath—The Southern and Western Wall—The Prophet Ezekiel—His Vision—The City-like Temple—Its Measurements—Its Supposed Symbolical Meaning—Reference to Solomon's Temple—The Eastern Gate—Its Architecture—Traditions—Its station in the Millennial City—Remarkable Predictions concerning it—Mohammadan Traditions of Jerusalem—The Manuscript of Jalal-Addin—Prophecy of Mahadi—Expected Return of Messiah—Dr. Clarke's Topography—His Discoveries—Position of Mount Sion—Objections of Mr. Buckingham—Their Fallacy—His Map—Refutation of Clarke's Objections—Sepulchres of David—Proofs from the Book of Joshua—Clarke's Knowledge of the Holy City—Authority of the Apostles—Calvary—Vulgar Errors—Golgotha—Identity of the Holy Sepulchre—Grotto of Jeremiah—The Royal Sepulchres—Tombs of the Judges—Their Manner of Construction—The Valley of Jehoshaphat—Tomb of the Virgin—Gethsemane—Mount of Olives—Sepulchres of the Patriarchs—Siloam—Valley of Hinnom—The Aceldama—Discoveries of the Author—The races of Mankind—Opinion of Dr. Pritchard.

In the foregoing description I have endeavoured to trace the situation and precise locality of the several cities of Jerusalem that *have been;* from that of Salem, occupying Mount Acra alone; then Mount Sion added; afterwards Moriah, taken in for the site of the temple; Bezetha included in later times, as the population grew more numerous, and finally, the walls of the present city. But there is still a

topography of Jerusalem, to be considered without which any treatise upon that subject would be incomplete.

We are informed by the inspired writers in language such as cannot possibly be mistaken, that at the restoration of Israel "*Jerusalem shall be safely inhabited—and men shall dwell in it, and there shall be no more utter destruction of it,*"* and this cheering promise is again and again repeated in other prophecies. But the inspired writers go further, and not only inform us of the rebuilding of the city, but they lay down the position of its walls and gates with such accuracy as to preclude the possibility of error or mistake; so that he who takes the Scriptures in his hand and goes over the ground may measure every cubit of the space it is hereafter to occupy. Mr. Fry, in his highly interesting and learned work upon the "Second Advent," has already taken up this subject, and the few errors that he has fallen into, are those merely arising from the defective maps which he consulted, and from his not having visited the places he describes. The quadrangular space marked by the YELLOW coloured line in the map defines the ground to be occupied by the future city.

In the prophecy of Jeremiah, we find the first description of the topography of this city. "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner.

* Zechariah, xiv. 11. See also chapter ii.

And the measuring-line shall yet go over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kedron, unto the corner of the Horse-gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; *it shall not be plucked up, nor thrown down any more for ever.*"* Here the prophet makes use of the different land marks of the *ancient* city, which can be easily recognized, and which (although the ground may be raised up, and altered in appearance, as it is said in another prophecy, that it shall be) must remain to point out the circuit of its walls, such as they existed in that city, which I have already laid down. Their sites can be now distinguished, and every Jew in Jerusalem is perfectly well acquainted with many of them.

The prophet Zechariah thus describes the future city. "It shall be lifted up, and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin's gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the King's wine-presses."† Let us now see how this description corresponds with the topography of the ancient city. The tower of Hananeel which is introduced as a conspicuous point, was situated between the tower of Meah, and the Fish-gate, in the north-east angle of the wall. From it the line runs southward to the corner of the Horse-gate, at

* Jeremiah, chap. xxxi. 38, 39, 40. † Zech. xiv. 10.

the south-east angle of Moriah, and in the outer enclosure of the temple; but it goes still farther, and encloses a part of the valley of Jehosaphat, till it arrives at the King's wine-presses, or the King's gardens, which are placed by all topographers between the fountain of Siloam and the lower pool of that name. Here then, we have an accurate plan laid down of the east wall; and it is very remarkable that from the tower to the Horse-gate, the greater portion of the ancient wall of the city is still in existence, so that, as I before remarked, it is the same in the modern, and also in that of the prophetic or millennial cities. Nay, it is still more curious and extraordinary that Mr. Fry, totally unacquainted, at the time he wrote, with the existence of this wall, says, "along this line the point of the temple was extended; the prophecy does not notice this, *we are to take for granted that the line is restored.*"

We now turn to the northern boundary, and here we read that the measuring line is to extend from the tower of Hananeel to the Corner-gate. This gate I have marked in the wall of Nehemiah, near to the place called the grotto of Jeremiah, and beside the Tower of the Corner. From that it proceeds still farther, and crosses over the hill Gareb, which is a slight elevation north-west of the present city. But where are we to stop here? This is answered by Mr. Fry's explanation of the passages in Zechariah. "I

conceive," says he, "that we are to understand the Hebrew particle with which the sentence begins in its comparative sense. The land shall be elevated and built upon '*as* from the gate of Benjamin to the place of the old gate, so also to the corner-gate ;' that is, in the same proportional distance shall the wall be built up to the corner-gate from an opposite point, as from the gate of Benjamin, to the place of the former gate." *

In the map used by the author from whom I have just quoted, the gate of Benjamin is placed in the north-east angle, and therefore the measure is incorrect. But, having established this gate to be situated on Mount Moriah, corresponding to that which is now called the Golden-gate, and in the times of Jeremiah, the High-gate—and also the first, or former gate to be in the northern wall of Nehemiah, about midway between the Fish-gate, and the tower of the corner—a line equal in length to the distance from the old gate to that of Benjamin, and carried straight forward from the Corner-gate over the hill of Gareb, will give us the circuit of the city wall in that direction which exactly corresponds in length with that of the eastern side. Having now formed two sides of a city, which we read elsewhere in the inspired volume, is to be a *square*, it is easy to extend the line so as to complete the other two sides. From the hill

* Fry on the Second Advent, vol. I. page 561.

Gareb it is to compass about Goath, or Goatha, a place which many readers suppose to be Golgotha. The western line then passes through part of the upper pool of Gihon, and reaches the northern extremity of Mount Gihon. Having completed the east, north, and western walls, the line then turns to encompass the southern side of the city, and passing through the lower pool of Gihon, crosses over the summit of Mount Sion, and joins the eastern wall at the King's gardens. "The valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook Kedron," I conceive to refer to that part of the valley of Jehosaphat, along the eastern boundary, in which are several corn fields, the brook Kedron, and which is in some places literally paved with tomb-stones. Now that these prophecies relate to a *future* city, there can be no manner of doubt, for the city rebuilt by permission of Cyrus, after the captivity, has been long since destroyed.

Let us now look into another prophecy that bears upon this restored city. While the captive Israelites mourned over their condition, and wept for the destruction of their temple, their city, their country, and their homes, as exiles in a strange and distant land, whither they had been banished for their iniquities and rebellions against God, a young and highly favoured Hebrew was endowed with the spirit of prophecy, and uttered many predictions concerning extraordinary events, which were to take place in

the world; some of which have been already fulfilled, and others yet remain to be accomplished. He foretold the ruin of many kingdoms; he warned kings and nations of their approaching doom, and though he predicted many fearful visitations and judgments which were to come upon the Jewish people, and their city, no prophetic historian is more full and explicit in the cheering promises of restoration to the ancient people of the Lord, or the temporal prosperity, and power, together with the spiritual blessings that are in store for them under the THEOCRACY that is yet to flourish in the country of their forefathers.

While this prophet, whose name was Ezêkiel, slept by the river of Chebar,* he was carried in a vision to the land of Israel, and there appeared to him the frame or form of a city, situated on a mountain, or raised ground, to the south of where he stood; and there met him a man of a bright or shining appearance, having in his hand a line of flax, and a measuring reed of six cubits long.† This man was prepared to show and explain to the prophet the different parts of this building, and describe to him the pattern after which it should be constructed, in order that he might declare all that he saw unto the house of Israel. After describing the form, the dimensions, and the

* Chebar, a river of Mesopotamia, which falls into the Euphrates, near Karkemish. Strabo mentions it under the name of Abonas; Animianus, as Aboras; Ptolemy, as Chaloras.

† Ezekiel, chap. xl.

uses of each particular part, as well as the ceremonies to take place there, he informed the prophet that the circuit of this four-sided building was two thousand reeds, or five hundred on every side. Now allowing the cubit to be eighteen inches of our measure, which multiplied by nine, the number of cubits in a reed; and then by two thousand, we have the circumference of the city in inches, which reduced to feet, gives us the scale that is laid down in this map, corresponding *exactly* with the lines of the four-sided city of Jeremiah and Zechariah marked yellow on the map. Nay more, take up *any* tolerably well constructed map, that gives any thing *like* an outline of the former city and the surrounding elevations, and measure according to its scale a square of 2000 cubits, taking the tower of Hananeel as the north-east point, and it will enclose the space mentioned by the two last prophets, so that "Jeremiah's 'city of Jehovah,' and Ezekiel's city-like temple are found to occupy the same space."*

It is but fair to state that objections have been urged against this literal interpretation of these prophecies. It is said that they are but emblematical and refer to spiritual matters; but if so, of what manner of use would be the reference to the topography of ancient Jerusalem; what spiritual import or meaning could there be in the towers, the gates, the hills and valleys, brooks and

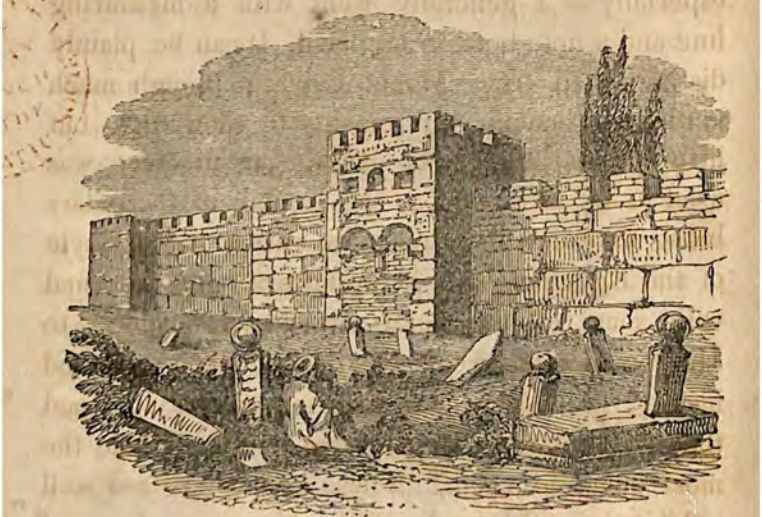
* Fry, page 562.

wine-presses described by the prophets? What mystical or symbolical meaning can possibly be attached to the courts, the gates, the pavements, the porches, the chambers, the houses, altars, arches, palm trees, and decorations spoken of, and minutely detailed in the vision of the Babylonish captive? To get rid of this argument, another class of commentators have supposed that the prophet referred to the temple of Solomon, built on Mount Moriah, and restored by Zerubbabel, after the return from the captivity, or that rebuilt and beautified by Herod. But a comparison of the measures of both will prove their dissimilarity; besides Mount Moriah itself, on which Solomon's, Zerubbabel's, and Herod's temples were built, *is not one-eighth of the space* to be occupied by this "city-like temple," which is to be twenty-eight stadia in circumference, or nearly a mile every way.*

An object of very great moment leads us to make

* Among this class of interpreters is Sir Isaac Newton, who has gone so far as to give a description of Solomon's temple from the very lines and boundaries shown to the prophet when conducted to a city raised up and set upon a very high mountain. This view of the subject appears to us extraordinary when we consider the great knowledge of prophecy possessed by this eminent and highly gifted philosopher as seen in his luminous interpretations of the prophecy of Daniel. The plates of this temple figured in his work, will, however afford most valuable and useful information to all who study this remarkable prophecy. In further proof of the fallacy of the opinion as to its mystical meaning and its applicability to Solomon's and Zerubbabel's temple, I would refer my readers to the preliminary remarks on the 40th to 48th chapters of Ezekiel by Archbishop, afterwards primate Newcombe.

a further examination of the eastern wall. About midway between St. Stephen's Gate and the south-west corner, are the remains of a most remarkable gate, built up in the wall, and originally opening into the court of the Hareem Shereef, or the outward enclosure of Solomon's temple.



This is called by the Mooslims Bab el Derahie, and is supposed to be the golden gate mentioned in the time of our Saviour. The upper part of this gateway consists of a double arch, with part of the capitals and pillars, but all the rest is built up in the wall, and guarded with the greatest care by the Mooslims, not only because it is in the outer wall of the mosque, but because they have a tradition that through this very gate the Christians and the Jews are one day to enter in, and retake Jerusalem. The Turks, therefore, regard with a certain degree of jealousy

and aversion all Christians whom they see approaching near it; and they would in all probability inflict a severe punishment on the Jew whose temerity might lead him to inspect it too closely. I never approached it but some Mooslim soon appeared, looking upon me with suspicion; especially as I generally went with a measuring line and a note-book in my hand. It can be plainly distinguished from Mount Olivet; though much mutilated, enough yet remains to show that but little of the Greek or Roman architecture was used in its construction, the capitals of the pillars being surrounded with leaves, rather in the style of the Egyptian, and the architrave being adorned with some of the floral ornaments peculiar to Hebrew architecture, and so well defined in sacred history, in which the pomegranate, the vine, and the lily-work were blended so as to produce the most beautiful effect. These ornaments are well exhibited in the tombs of the kings, which are of undoubted Hebrew origin, and in other specimens of similar architecture about Jerusalem; but they are very much defaced on this gate. The principal cemetery of the Mohammadans is placed beneath this gate, on a strip of level ground that intervenes between it and the steep declivity of the valley of Jehosaphat; and in it are generally to be seen some Mooslim women mourning over the graves of their relatives. The large stones I before described, are seen in the vicinity of this gate; while

the doorway is built up of small ones similar to those used in building the modern Turkish wall. Bonomi states that, "proceeding to the interior of the Golden Gate he discovered that a central row of noble Corinthian columns, and a groined roof had once formed a stately portico of Roman workmanship;" this may be part of the decorations added by Herod Agrippa.

Sandys relates a curious old legend respecting this gate. He says "that the emperor Heraclius returning from his Persian victory, attempted to have entered thereat in all his glory, but was miraculously prohibited until he had put off all his princely ornaments, in a simple habit, bearing a part of the cross of Christ on his shoulders." Not only was this the gate of Benjamin in the ancient city, but it corresponds precisely to the gate of that name mentioned in the city-like temple seen by Ezekiel, and also to that spoken of in the Revelation.

We see that this gate faces the Mount of Olives, looking towards the east, and is in that portion of the wall that was left standing. I would again refer my readers to the remarkable vision of Ezekiel,* in which an eastern gate of Jerusalem is spoken of, and described with an accuracy and precision that is not used with respect to any other part. In this vision the prophet seems to have had a prospective glance of many centuries to come. He is first conducted into the city by a gate "which looketh towards the

* Ezek. xl. 6.

east," and which was the gate of the outer court or sanctuary of the temple. All its parts are here described with the greatest minuteness, as it was intended to be the type or model for all the rest. The two following chapters contain a description of the measurements and ornaments of the temple, and the prophet says in chap. xlii. 15, "now when he had made an end of measuring the inner house, he brought me forth towards the gate, whose prospect is towards the east, and measured it round about." "Afterwards he brought me to the gate, even the gate that looketh toward the east: and behold the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the east, and his voice was like a noise of many waters, and the earth shined with his glory." xliii. 1, 2. This the prophet says was in accordance with the vision that he saw by the river of Chebar, when he came to *destroy* the city, and the same is repeated in the fourth verse. May not this have been fulfilled when the Lord came from Bethpage, which is eastward of the city, and made that triumphal entry when the people cast their garments in the way, and acknowledged him as a prince, crying "Hosanna to the son of David."

In the commencement of the succeeding chapter the prophet states, that he was again brought back by "the way of the gate of the outer sanctuary, which looketh toward the east, and it was *shut*. Then said the Lord unto me, this gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it; because

the Lord the God of Israel *hath entered* in by it, therefore it shall be *shut*." This evidently refers to its present state, for in the third verse he says, "It is for the prince—the prince he shall sit in it to eat bread before the Lord; he shall enter by the way of the porch of *that gate*, and shall go out by the way of the same." Thus alluding to the Messiah's second advent, when "his feet shall stand in that day on the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east."* In the remaining portion of Ezekiel's prophecy this gate is so often referred to as to render it a prominent object, and one well worthy the attention of more enlightened biblical scholars. Tradition states it to be the golden gate of the temple, and from this gate it is that the inspired writer says, that the waters are to issue out toward the east country, and go down into the desert, and go into the sea, where having arrived they shall be healed. Ezek. xlvii. 8. The sea referred to appears to be the Dead Sea, to which the valley of Jehosaphat leads from beneath this gate.

Regarding the restoration of the Jews, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the wonderful events that are yet to take place in a spot round which the movements of the different kingdoms of the earth seem to revolve as around a common centre, some faint glimmering of light appears to have long existed among the Mohammadans, as we learn from their many traditions; and particularly from

* Zechariah, xiv. 4.

that interesting manuscript lately published by the Oriental Translation Society, entitled "The History of the Temple of Jerusalem, by the Imam Jalal-Addin Al Siuti, written in the Christian year, 1444." This author says, "in the last times there shall be a general flight unto the Baitu-l-Mukaddas, (the temple of Jerusalem,) and the ark, and the gracious presence (Shechinah) of God, shall be lifted up on high in this Temple;" and then he goes on to say, "here shall be the general gathering of all men, the general resurrection: unto the holy abode, shall God come in the darkness of thick clouds, amidst his angels; and all creatures shall burst through their graves without difficulty, and all the inhabitants of Paradise shall come down again with pomp on the day of judgment unto this Temple," and here "shall the Seraphim blow the trumpet on the wall of the temple, and proclaim those great and terrific words—'O flesh torn from the bones! O bones gnawed and cut! come forth unto your reckoning, and let your breath, breathe forth again, and receive the recompence of your deeds.'"

"Unto this Temple, affirmed the prophet, there shall be flight after flight of all good people." Again, "also, said the prophet of God unto Abu-Ubaidah Al-Jirah,—*Hope of all Hope* shall rest upon this temple, when the time of temptation and tumult shall appear." And though mixed up with the usual absurdities and traditions of Mohammadanism, the millennial days are dimly shadowed forth

in this work, for at page 296 we read—"now, for Al Mahadí (the True Guide) who shall live in later times, the prophet said, '*in the latter times great misfortunes and trials shall fall upon my people from their Sultáns*, such as never was heard of before until the wide earth shall be too narrow for them. The earth shall be also full of injustice and oppression. Then will God send down a man to fill the earth with justice and equity, as it was before filled with injustice and wrong. Then shall the dweller in the heavens, and the dweller upon earth be well content: neither shall the earth be deprived of one drop of the copious showers which I will pour down upon it, nor the heaven of those streams I cause to flow. This man shall live with them seven, or eight, or nine years. His life or death shall be fixed and determined by the good which God wills to be effected for the people of the earth." Again, "Mahadí shall be born in Medína, of the family of Muhammad, and of the same name."

"Now, for the Expedition to the Baitu-l-Mukaddas, Muhammad-Ibn-Hanífa-Abbás said, Truly the black standards of the Prophet shall march forward; and from Khoraśán, another black and white array shall advance; in which array there shall be seen a man called Shaíh-Ibn-Sáleh, prince of the sons of Akama. He shall put to flight all the commands of Sufián, until he attack the Holy City, *in order to smooth the way for the assumption of the sovereignty thereof*,

by Mahadí. Mahadí shall come thither from Syria. Also between the commencement of the march, and the final accomplishment of the proposed object, shall elapse seventy-three months. Others say that Shuaib shall suddenly and secretly march upon the Holy City, in order to prepare an abiding place for Mahadí, when he shall hear of the march to Syria. The number of the army shall be twelve thousand. Again, By the hands of Mahadí, shall the ark of Shechinah (Divine Presence) be brought forward and exposed to view, from the desert of Tiberias, and shall be carried and placed before him in the Holy City; which when the Jews behold they shall all become Moslems, except a few. Then Mahadi shall die. Again, truth and justice shall be perverted; men shall be avaricious, the world shall act perversely; not an instant shall pass unmarked by some evil deed or word on the part of created beings; *and none shall show and follow the right way, but Jesus, son of Maria.* It is also a common and well-founded tradition, that never shall the Holy City want: never shall there cease to be found therein a man to do the good deeds of the House of David, and never shall there be wanting a chief of the company of David's comrades to enter the Holy City."

And again, when relating the future glory of Syria, and the first building of Damascus, as well as the tradition of the re-appearance of the Messiah, he says "this is the tower (but God knows) upon which Jesus son of Maria

will alight; for Muhammad is reported to have said, I saw Jesus son of Maria come forth from near the white minaret, east of the mosque, placing his hands upon the wings of two angels firmly bound to him. Upon him was the Divine glory, (the Shechinah). He was marked by the red tinge of baptism. This is the mark of original sin. Jesus (it is also said) shall come forth from the White Tower by the eastern gate, and shall enter the mosque. *Then shall the word come forth for Jesus to fight with Antichrist at the corner of the city, as long as it shall please God.*"*

Having now completed the circuit of the ancient walls, and shown that they in all likelihood excluded Calvary, or Goath, let us consider what are the objections urged against the line of circumvallation, laid down in the accompanying map. Dr. Clarke states that "it is probable that the whole of Mount Sion has been excluded; and that the mountain covered by ruined edifices, whose base is perforated by ancient sepulchres, and separated from Mount Moriah by the deep trench or Tyropœon, extending as far as the fountain Siloa, towards the eastern valley, is in fact, that eminence which was once surrounded by the 'bulwarks, towers, and

* See the History of the Temple of Jerusalem, translated from the Arabic MS. of the Imam Jalal-Addin Al Siuti, by the Rev. James Reynolds, B.A. published under the auspices of the Oriental translation fund of Great Britain and Ireland; one of the most extraordinary works that has appeared for many years, and well worthy the attentive perusal of the learned.

regal buildings' of the House of David." This is the Mount of Evil Council, which I have marked as the Mount of Offence, its name at the time Sandys and Pococke visited Jerusalem. The reasons assigned for this position by the learned antiquary are, first, that without it the circumference of the ancient city, a circuit of twenty-seven stadia, or three miles and three furlongs, as stated by Eusebius, would be too small; secondly, that he found certain sepulchres in the northern side of this hill, which he believed to be the sepulchres of the sons of David, mentioned in Nehemiah; and thirdly, that on several of these sepulchres, he discovered certain Greek inscriptions, some of which with a cross before them ran thus, +ΤΗCΑΓΙΑC CIWN "of the holy Sion." And besides, that the valley Gehinnom of Sandys, which I have marked Hinnom, as agreed upon by D'Anville and others, is "in fact the valley of Millo called Tyropœon by Josephus, which separated Mount Sion from Mount Moriah, and extended as far as the fountain Siloa, where it joined the valley of Jehosaphat." Dr. Clarke goes further and places the site of the crucifixion on Mount Sion! and the sepulchre where our Lord was laid among these of the royal tombs of the sons of David. Nay, he appears to have actually found out the individual Crypt!!!

As it is better to place all the objections together, that the reader may be able to test their validity, I shall commence with those adduced by Mr. Buckingham. He agrees with Clarke, as to the site of

Sion being that of the Hill of Evil Council; but he goes still further, and makes Hinnom, the Tyropœon, and Gihon all the same. He states that the place which is marked as the *hill* Gihon, to the west of Sion in the map, must have been a low place, because Solomon in accordance with David's vow to Bath-sheba is taken *down* to be anointed there; forgetting that it was from the adjoining hill of Sion that he was taken; and surely a person may be said to go down from a higher to a lower elevation. Another objection urged by Mr. Buckingham, is one which turns out to be the very strongest proof of the position I have mentioned. He quotes Joshua, xviii. 16, where it is said "the border came down to the end of the mountain that lieth before the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is the valley of the giants on the *north*, and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south;" and he then goes on to say "Jebusi, or the oldest Jerusalem, was on the north of Sion, occupying *only* the two hills of Acra and Moriah; and being commanded by the citadel which David erected there." Now Mr. Buckingham furnishes an answer to this objection himself, a few pages further on in his book, where he quotes Josephus as showing that the *oldest city* was *Salem*, the residence of Melchisedeck, and this I have shown already *only* occupied Acra—Moriah, as far as we know, never having been considered as part of the city, till long after, when in-

cluded for the temple. In the same place he also quotes Chateaubriand, as saying that "the descendants of Jebus, a son of Canaan, erected a fortress on Mount Sion, to which they gave the name of Jebus their father. The Jebusites still retained possession of the upper town or citadel of Jebus, and kept it till they were driven out by David eight hundred and thirty-four years after." Here there is an evident contradiction. In reference to Jebusi being "on the north of Sion, and occupying *only* Acra and Moriah;" a little further on, he again says, "when David first laid siege to Jerusalem, it is said he took the lower city by force, but the citadel still held out, 'nevertheless, David took the strong-hold of Zion: the same is the city of David.'"* Now it is perfectly clear that if the border lay to the south of Jebusi, it lay to the south of Sion, for that *Mount was undoubtedly included within the city of Jebus*, as we see from the above passages.

Another objection brought forward by Mr. Buckingham against the identity of the hill marked Sion, is that he could not find in it "the sepulchres of David and the Kings of Israel."† This negative proof I do not think requires refutation; and, until its author has had an opportunity of testing the validity of that shown by the Mohammadans as the tomb of David on the summit of the present Sion, the question remains as it was before,

* Samuel, v. 7. † Buckingham's Travels in Palestine, p. 277.

and Mr. B. and Dr. Clarke must share the disappointment of Antiochus and Herod, who, Josephus informs us, searched diligently, but could not find them, though they opened several of what appear to me to have been the tombs cut in the rocks on the side of the valley of Hinnom opposite, and but a short distance from the foot of Mount Sion, as I have placed it on the map. But, forsooth, because the traveller could not see a sepulchre, he could not find a mountain, but did he excavate; or may it not be at present hid beneath the surface, or be among some of the other cryptæ in the south-eastern side of the hill?

Mr. Buckingham has added a map to his description, but, independent of its total want of similarity to the modern city, it places Mount Moriah completely distinct from, and to the south of the mosque of Omar, whereon the temple stood! Acra is placed to the west of the city walls, and Mount Sion he has represented as at least a mile from the site of the Temple, and the Holy Sepulchre he has placed in the very centre of the city, and to the east of the castle of David; and he has also drawn Kedron as a large river!!*

We now turn to the objections of Dr. Clarke, which we consider will be fully answered by an examination of the ground: for if ancient Jerusalem stood upon *any* part of that now occupied by the present city; and if the mosque of Omar is

* See plan of modern Jerusalem in Buckingham's Travels, 1821.

erected on the site of the ancient temple upon Moriah; (which no one has had the hardihood to deny,) it is impossible that the Mount Sion marked on the map could have been excluded, and a single glance at the plan of Dr. Clarke will prove that it must have been included in the city. The Psalmist says that "the city of the great king"* (that is Melchisedeck,) was to the north of Sion. Josephus tells us of a bridge that crossed from the Temple to Mount Sion, but what bridge could possibly span the Valley of Hinnom! and if *this* be not Hinnom, where is it? for no valley occurs to the south of the Hill of Evil Council, that will answer to the description given of it. If this last-named elevation be Sion, the sepulchres of David and the Aceldama must have been *within* the ancient city! Now Nehemiah† tells us expressly that the ruler of half of Beth-zur repaired the wall "unto the place over *against* the sepulchres of David," which if Dr. C. be correct must have been in the very centre of the city; a most improbable occurrence. This position is likewise confirmed by the boundary line spoken of in the book of Joshua, where, in describing the boundary of the lot of Judah, we are informed that "the border passed towards the waters of En-shemesh, and the goings out thereof were at En-rogel: and the border went *up* by the Valley of the Son of Hinnom

* Psalm xlviii. 2. † Nehemiah iii. 16.

unto the *south side* of the Jebusite; *the same is Jerusalem:* and the border went up to the top of the mountain that lieth before the Valley of Hinnom westward, which is at the end of the Valley of the Giants northward."* Now Dr. Clarke (who acknowledged the position of Hinnom, although he confounded it with the Tyropœon) has made it to divide the city, and separate Sion from Acra and Moriah; although in the part of the inspired volume from which I have quoted, we are told explicitly that it was on the *south side of Jerusalem;* and this Jerusalem must have included Sion, which was the peculiar city and fortress of the Jebusite.

Besides, it must be conceded by all, that this valley separated the inheritance of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; now Jerusalem is enumerated in the same book, not in the cities of the former, but in those of *Benjamin*, which lay on the *northern* side of the ravine; for we read of "Zelah, Eleph, and Jebusi, which is *Jerusalem*, Gibeath, and Kirjah, fourteen cities with their villages. This is the inheritance of the children of Benjamin, according to their families."† The moun-

* Joshua, xv. 7, 8.

† Joshua, xviii. 28. In connection with this subject it is worthy of remark that we have no positive record of the Jews having ever yet fully possessed Jerusalem, for in the time of Joshua they occupied it in common with the original inhabitants, neither could Joshua have driven them out, for in Judges i. 21, we read that "the children of Benjamin did *not* drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites

tain that lay to the westward of the valley appears to be that of Gihon, which here approaches to the extremity of the Valley of Giants or Rephaim, which was thus placed to the north of the boundary line.* Independent of all this, Sion being the highest Mount, except the Mount of Olives, about or within the ancient city; and being completely surrounded by deep valleys and ravines, it was the most likely place on which to erect the citadel or acropolis. And if we exclude it as Dr. C. has done, it would be the most formidable position that any enemy attacking Jerusalem could possibly hold; for it completely commands the town and the opposite Hill of Evil Council, which he supposes was the Sion or acropolis of the old city.

But of the many proofs that could be adduced to establish the site of Sion in the position I have placed it, there is none stronger than the following—"Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it *straight down to*

dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." In this passage we are again informed that it was included in the lot of Benjamin; and the very first promise of Jerusalem to the seed of Abraham remains yet to be fulfilled.

* The learned Adam Clarke has stated it as his opinion, that the city was divided between the two tribes, and that Sion was placed in the portion that fell to Judah. Having already said so much to prove the contrary, it is here unnecessary to advance anything further; especially as his authority is taken from a gentleman who knew so very little of the topography of the ancient city as to state that the temple stood on Mount Sion!!

the west side of the city of David," or Sion.* A reference to the plan will at once show that the remains of this very water-course, which is brought down to the *west* of Sion, exist up to the present time.

Dr. Clarke also speaks of the discovery of "marvellous" sepulchres in the side of this mountain, but these were described long before his time, by both Sandys and Pococke; the former of whom says,' "in the rocks about there are divers sepulchres, and some in use at this day, having great stones rolled against their mouths according to the ancient custom;" and the latter speaks of them as follows—"I went up the hill to the west, opposite to the end of the vale of Hinnom, and saw a great number of sepulchral grots cut out of the rock, many of which have beautiful door places; among them is the grottos where it is said the apostles hid themselves after our Saviour's crucifixion."

The Greek inscriptions upon these sepulchres are at best apocryphal, and no more prove this hill to be Sion, than the paintings of saints and angels in their chambers prove that they were erected by the monks; or the names of ships bedaubed on Pompey's Pillar, prove it to have been erected in the reign of Queen Victoria.

In one word, to shew how little Dr. Clarke knew of the topography of Jerusalem, he informs us at page 351 of his work, that "Jerusalem now occupies one eminence alone; namely, that of

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

Moriah, where the Temple stood of old, and where like a phœnix that hath arisen from the ashes of its parent, the famous mosque of Omar is now situate." We in charity pass over the impious allusion to the anti-christian mosque of the false prophet of Mekka being, as it were, the offspring of the temple of the Most High God, though it is but a small specimen of that spirit of scepticism that endeavoured to throw ridicule on the Holy Sepulchre; but we know beyond a doubt that Mount Moriah was a small eminence which was completely covered by the temple and its courts, nay, so small was it, that it required that its area should be artificially enlarged. This is a fact placed beyond doubt, and still so visible as to be admitted even by Dr. Clarke himself. If then this mount was occupied by the temple, how could the modern town, which is two and a half miles in circumference, stand upon it? much more so, when in the same sentence he tells us that it is at present occupied by Omar's Mosque. In short, though the learned Cambridge Doctor has expended much labour in endeavouring to disprove the locality given to the hill of Sion as marked in the map, he was forced to acknowledge that its present appearance showed the fulfilment of prophecy, for it was ploughed as a field; and at the time of our visit, corn was waving on its sides and summit.

If the Royal Caves on the north, and the Hill of Evil Council on the south, were included within the limits of the ancient city, it would form an area of

nearly a mile more than the most extended limit assigned to it by authors, who wrote at the time of its existence. If then Mount Sion was included within the ancient city, it completely refutes the opinion, that on its summit took place the crucifixion, and completely contradicts the *whole* of Buckingham's remarks on the subject, for we are thus explicitly informed by the apostle Paul; "wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered *without the gate*."* And John who "saw it bare record, and his record is true," that "the place where Jesus was crucified was *nigh* to the city;"† so near indeed does it appear to have been, that many of the Jews who probably stood upon the opposite wall, read the title placed over the cross.

It is absurd to suppose that the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea was placed among those of the kings of Judah, for they are more than a quarter of a mile from the spot where Clarke places the crucifixion, whereas we are told by the same evangelist, that it was in a garden *nigh at hand* to the place of crucifixion. Nay more, St. Cyril, the first patriarch of Jerusalem, informs us, that the crypt was "in the *hollow of the outer wall*," which perfectly agrees with the situation I have given it with relation to the ancient city.‡

* Hebrews, xiii. 12. † John, xix. 20.

‡ The strictures throughout this chapter on the opinions of Dr. E. D. Clarke may by some persons be considered severe, or at least presumptuous, but they are absolutely necessary; for if

Should apology be deemed necessary for this lengthened dissertation upon the topography of Jerusalem, I can only say that while volumes have been written upon Rome, Athens, Thebes, Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other cities—wherein the temple of every heathen deity, and the residence of every heathen philosopher have been examined with labour and care the most minute, and described with surpassing accuracy—this, the first, the most holy, the greatest, and I might add, that which shall be the last of cities, has been almost neglected and forgotten; a city consecrated to the service

his statements were to remain uncontradicted, they stand in direct opposition to the opinions I have endeavoured to establish in the preceding pages. Dr. Clarke's travels are, without doubt, the very best published in their day, and though knowledge is progressing, and new and additional facts are being brought to light by the labours and researches of modern travellers, yet his work must still remain a lasting monument of the talent, the learning, and critical research of the author, as well as one of the standard works in our language, upon the countries of which he treats. But when Dr. Clarke entered Palestine (where he spent something more than a week, three days of which he resided in Jerusalem! and the account of which he published *several* years after,) he appears to have been so much disgusted with the monkish tales that had been previously related by travellers concerning the holy places at Jerusalem—such as, showing where the cock crew to remind Peter of his crime, &c.—and ridiculing the enthusiastic credulity of his predecessor, Chateaubriand, he was determined to refute, if possible, every tale or saintly legend, whether authentic, probable, or merely traditionary, that had been published concerning them. To the work from which I have quoted so largely, all who travel must feel indebted, and no one is more willing to acknowledge that debt than myself.

of Jehovah, and where he manifested himself to his people; the scene of the labours, sufferings, and death of Messiah; a city, to whose establishment and future glory nations shall yet rise and fall, monarchs flourish, and dynasties decay; a city planned by the great Architect of the world, and before the splendour of which, the greatest metropolis, the mightiest people, and the most transcendant achievements of man shall pass away or be made subservient.

Having endeavoured to answer the objections as to the *site* of the sepulchre, I find it still further necessary to remove some popular or "vulgar errors" upon this subject. It is generally supposed that Calvary or Golgotha (which are synonymous) was a mount or a considerable hill. This mistake is common to most authors, and is one into which Gibbon himself has fallen; but there is no scriptural warrant for such a supposition. It may, however, have been a small elevation or mound of some fifteen feet high, placed in the natural valley that surrounded the outer wall. Again, others suppose it to have been a place of public execution and a common grave-yard, and this opinion they rest on the word γολγοθᾶ Golgotha, and translate it "the place of skulls," or "of a skull." Now if this supposition be correct, is it not as likely that the evangelists would have mentioned it as a place of execution (or as some writers have been pleased to call it, a "gallows") as a place of "skulls?"

A learned correspondent of the Edinburgh Review* has thrown considerable light upon the meaning of the word Golgotha; but he, too, falls into the mistake of making it a place of public burial, "the place of the skulls of men;" giving to the word אדם Adam, the general appellation of men or mankind, and not the proper name of our first parent. The monks and guardians of the Holy Sepulchre point out a place in the cleft of the rock, beside the cross, where they say the skull of Adam was discovered at the time of the crucifixion; and they gravely assert that the father of mankind had himself interred there, in order that his bones might be sprinkled with the blood of our Saviour! Such is the absurd tale related by Epiphanius, and retailed by the friars to all devout pilgrims.

But this place appears to have had an earlier date than the tradition of monks and fathers, and its existence is believed by both Jews and Mooslims, and is mentioned in the works of the latter.† Now it is probable that this spot in the trench outside the walls (and if the tradition concerning it existed from an early date, it would be a reason for its not being included in the city,) was called the place of *the skull*, or as St. Luke writes; "*και ὁτε ἀπελθον επι τον τοπον τον καλουμενον κρανιον*—and when they were come to a place called SKULL;" a proper name

* See Critique on Dr. Clarke's Travels in the Edinburgh Review for February, 1813.

† See the work of Jalal-Addin, referred to in page 276.

denoting, not a burial ground or a place of execution, but a spot to which a certain tradition was attached; and so the word Golgotha and the skull of Adam appear to be the same.* "But near the former," says the Reviewer, "was the tomb of Christ, according to Scripture; therefore it was near the latter; that is, where it has always been placed." And this is the more likely to be correct, as the Greek and Latin priests themselves are totally unacquainted with the origin of this tradition, and knew nothing whatever of the true meaning of the name given to the place shown as the repository of Adam's skull.†

There are four things that must be taken into account when discussing this question of the identity of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. The probable position of such a place; its bearings with regard to the plan of the ancient city; the scriptural authority; the traditions, and the writings of authors since the days of St. Helena. The three first of these points I have endeavoured to answer already; to discuss the fourth, I would be compelled to wade through masses of literary lumber that are

* In our version the word κρανιον is translated Calvary, on what authority I know not, except from the Latin term *Calvarium* (a skull); and if Calvary be a proper name, so ought SKULL.

† The absurd opinion that it derived its name from the supposed resemblance of this rock to the form of a skull as related by Reland, and adopted by Mr. Buckingham, is too ridiculous to require comment—the latter author contradicts the same statement in page 286 of his book.

hardly equalled by the rubbish that at present surrounds the spot.

But the absurdities and foolish legends which are often mixed up with the accounts of ancient authors and with the tales of modern monks and friars, are not sufficient reasons for disbelieving or ridiculing all we hear or read concerning this place; no more than because an extravagant or idle tale is told by the people of our own country we are not to investigate the ruins or the incidents to which it refers.

It is extremely unlikely that while the tombs of other friends would be visited, reverenced, wept over, and strewn with flowers, as has ever been the case in a country where peculiar veneration is paid to the mausoleums of relatives, the place hallowed as the depository of the body of our Saviour would be forgotten or neglected by his disciples, or his earthly relatives, and friends; or that this tomb would in a short time become unknown to the early Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. Surely then such a tradition would be transmitted for at least three hundred years. Nay, the very tomb of Joseph of Arimathea itself would be remembered for two hundred years, and we fully agree in the words of a learned critic and divine now no more, who says—"nor was it only its superior sanctity which would preserve its memory. As the private property of an opulent Christian family it would be secured from pollution or injury; and the tomb itself was no 'hereabouts' which tradition was to settle, but an object too visible, and too definite

either to be overlooked or mistaken. While a single Christian survived in the town it could never cease to be known and venerated; and it certainly will require a considerable weight of argument to induce us to believe, that while the tombs of Ajax, of Achilles, of Æneas, of Theron, are ascertained by satisfactory tradition, a sepulchre of a date so much more recent, and of so much more forcible interest should have been allowed to sink into obscurity, or have been supplanted by a spurious and imperfect copy."*

But the learned author of the critique from which I have quoted, has fallen into a grievous error in stating that "there is also another circumstance which has been rashly taken as granted—namely, that the tomb of our Saviour was in the same place as his cross." In answer to this objection I must again refer to Scripture, which states that "in the place where he was crucified, there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus."† And the rolling a great stone against the mouth of the sepulchre would rather incline us to believe that the garden in which it was placed was a comparative level, and not the steep precipitous side of a valley, as Clarke and Buckingham have supposed. The former, in endeavouring to disprove or at least to contradict every previous account, has gone a little too far in asserting that the stone above the

* Quarterly Review, 1813. † John, xix. 41, 42.

entrance to the chamber is *verd-antique*, and not the usual limestone found in the country; a fact which all future travellers can easily ascertain.*

We know from undoubted authority that the Romans who retained possession of Jerusalem after the time of Titus, placed a statue of Venus over the tomb of Christ; and also the fane of Jupiter over the place of the Crucifixion. These remained

* The author of "The Modern Traveller" has fallen into the usual mistake of persons who have to collect their information from the descriptions furnished by others, without being able from personal inspection to describe the places they write upon themselves. He has too hastily adopted the opinions of Dr. Clarke; for, in page 122 we find him saying—"But the spot in question, as we have seen, could never have been either a burial-place or a place of crucifixion, not being without the city." Again, in page 126, he objects to the sepulchre on account of the white marble sarcophagus shewn as the tomb of Christ; which, he says, must have been hewn out of the compact grey limestone rock; forgetting that this white marble is merely said to *cover* the actual soros, as I have stated in a former part of this work. He, however, answers his own objection in the very next page, by saying, that "all that the pilgrim is permitted to see is a marble *casing* of a supposed rock." The stone in the centre of the outer apartment is *not* shown as that rolled to the door of the sepulchre, but that on which the angel sat, and which is no doubt legendary; but it cannot be urged as a proof against the identity of the tomb, as it is not half the size of the doorway; while that shown by the Armenians is about one-half too large. Notwithstanding these inaccuracies and hasty conclusions, the work of Mr. Conder is one without which no traveller should visit the Holy Land; for it contains an epitome of all that has been written upon it; and, though compiled by a person who never visited the country, it is often the best guide that can be obtained, even in Jerusalem itself.

standing until the third century, when the Christian empress, upon her arrival in Jerusalem, had them removed; and reduced the place to the state in which it at present appears. An objection has been raised against the identity of the tomb, from its being a crypt *above* ground; but it is quite natural to suppose that the enthusiastic Helena, in order to adorn and do honour to the sepulchre, had the intervening ground cut away; that is, leaving the Rock of Calvary standing, she removed the rock that formed the gradual intermediate slope between it and the tomb; and so left that which was above the surface, not like a grave, but hewn in the face of a rock, a detached crypt, the bottom of which stands about ten inches above the floor of the church. In form and construction it corresponds in every particular to the other tombs about Jerusalem; especially to those in the rocks above the village of Siloam. It is a curious fact, that the sarcophagus is on the right hand side; and in confirmation of this, we read that when the women came to the sepulchre, "they saw a young man sitting on the right-hand side."*

Clarke referred with great confidence to the effect that fire would have upon the sepulchre. That test has since been tried; the whole place was burned down since his visit; and though the surrounding pavilion was destroyed, the actual tomb remained uninjured, being "hewn out of a rock." The Rev. Mr. Nicolayson informed me that,

* Mark, xvi. 5.

anxious to learn what appearance it *then* presented, he made many inquiries, and at last found an old Greek priest, a sincere man, and one well worthy of credit, who stated to him that the morning after the fire he went into the tomb; and that, as the white marble coating was broken across and not yet replaced, he saw beneath it *a plain trough or sarcophagus hewn out of the floor of the church, and not composed of masonry*, as Dr. C. *supposed*. This man, Mr. N. described as totally unacquainted with any of the disputes regarding it; and knowing nothing whatever of antiquities.*

I am not inclined to pay much attention to what is called the outer chamber; but as regards the fissure in Calvary, Clarke himself was forced to acknowledge that it was a most astonishing phenomenon; that he could not account for it; and that it was a natural crack or rent, proceeding down to a great depth, which could not have been formed by man, as its sides corresponded to each other.

In conclusion, I do not think that any valid objection has yet been brought forward against the identity of the tomb, or Calvary; and until there has, we are bound, even as a matter of antiquarian research, to receive the tradition of nearly sixteen centuries,

*In the last edition of "Three Weeks in Palestine," its writer quotes the author of the "Decline and Fall" to prove that the sepulchre was completely destroyed by the fanatic Hakem. This may account for the outer wall of the crypt being removed; but we here have evidence to show that the sarcophagus still remains.

especially where no improbability appears against its validity. Thus it appears that Calvary or Golgotha was a small mound or elevation in the natural fosse or valley which surrounded the city immediately outside the walls; and derived its name from an ancient tradition regarding the skull of Adam. Here the Jews crucified the Lord, and the tomb of Joseph was in a garden beside it. And though no person can positively state that what are now pointed out as Calvary, and the Holy Sepulchre, are the actual places; yet to the present moment no sufficient proof to the contrary has been offered.

Let us now make the circuit of the city, and examine some of the antiquities in its vicinity. Outside the modern wall and near the Damascus gate there is a deep excavation in the face of the rock, which anciently formed the outer side of the natural fosse or valley that bounded Nehemiah's wall, and separated Acra from Bezetha. This is called the Grotto of Jeremiah, and is shown as the prison of that prophet when confined by Zedekiah; and it is also said to be the place in which he wrote his Lamentations. Its first appearance is that of an immense quarry, in the outer enclosure of which are the tombs of several Mohammadan saints; and the place is now in the hands of the Mooslims, who hold it in great veneration, and exact a tax of a piaster from each Christian, for leave to visit it. Within this court are several grots, subterranean halls, and small chapels, all hewn out of the solid

rock; the roofs being supported by massive pillars, which are also integral portions of the rock that have been left standing in the centre of these places. Some of these apartments contain the tombs of Mooslim saintons; probably they are the burial-places of the Durweeshes, whose college was situated near this place, about two centuries ago.

Fifty yards from this place, where the Durweeshes are interred, we were led down a flight of steps into another hall and subterranean church, the roof of which was worked into massive and deeply-grooved gothic arches. One end of this place has been excavated into a deep cistern, to collect the water that is constantly dropping from the roof and walls. The date at which this many-chambered cavern was constructed, probably coincides with that of the numerous localities within and around the city; which, where tradition could possibly assign a shadow of sanctity, were hallowed by the erection of altars, and rendered sacred to some saint, either real or imaginary. A dim and feeble light is admitted from the opening at top of this place, just sufficient to make the darkness within visible. This, added to the hollow sound of our footsteps, the damp atmosphere of the place, the dropping of the water from the roof, together with the gloom and solemnity of all around us, was strikingly impressive, and called to my recollection the grotto of Engaddi, so graphically described by the great magician of the north.

In this part of the suburbs there are several dry cisterns, and some curious vaults, of considerable size, that are completely beneath the surface, and lined with cement. In their form they resemble a bee-hive, with a circular opening at top.

Leaving the grotto we proceeded to the tombs of the kings, or the royal sepulchres, to which I before referred when describing the wall round Bezetha. These splendid remains differ from most other rock-caved sepulchres in not being cut in the side of a hill, but beneath a level spot of ground approached by a narrow path which leads to a square inclosure hewn out of the limestone stratum, of about fifteen or twenty feet deep. A wall of the natural rock separates this from an inner square open court, which opens into it by a round arch. This inner court was covered with rubbish and brambles; on the southern side it has a very handsome square portico with a beautifully carved architrave; one of the most perfect specimens of Hebrew sculpture that I believe at present exists. The frieze is adorned with a regulus, trygliphs, vine leaves, and other floral embellishments; and in the centre is an immense bunch of grapes, of a size that might lead us to believe that the architect had far surpassed nature, did we not read of similar ones being brought to Joshua by the spies whom he sent to inquire into the fertility of the land. A pilaster at either end still remains; and in all probability there were two columns in the centre like those in

the porticos at Telmessus, which, on the whole, it must have very much resembled. These columns have long since been broken off, and the entire carving has been very much defaced; a small portion of the left-hand column still remains at the top. The face of the rock within the portico is smooth, and presents no appearance of openings; but a small low door-way placed on the left-hand side, leads into a large square antechamber, hewn with extraordinary skill out of the solid rock, similar to the hypogea at Sackara. There are no niches or places for sarcophagi within this apartment, but a series of small chambers branch off on each of its three sides. These are for the most part oblong cryptæ, with ledges on either side for holding the bodies or coffins. The floor of each has a small channel cut in its centre; probably to collect and drain off the moisture that is constantly dropping from the soft limestone rock out of which they are excavated.

The most extraordinary and ingeniously contrived part of these chambers are the doors, each of which is formed of a single stone seven inches thick, sculptured so as to resemble four panels; the stiles, muntins, and other parts are cut with great art, and exactly resemble a door made by a carpenter of the present day—the whole being completely smooth and polished and most accurate in their proportions. The doors turned on pivots, of the same stone of which the rest of them were composed, which were

inserted into sockets above and below; but I regret to say that they are all now torn down and broken across. Many persons, supposing that these were carved out of the rock that filled up the door-way, have been puzzled to know how the hinges were constructed; but this has been already clearly described by Dr. Pococke, who has given a plate, and a most ingenious explanation of the manner in which this curious work was completed.* There are no troughs or soroi in any of the chambers of this subterranean mausoleum, but simply ledges on the sides, like those in the regal sepulchres in Asia Minor; which have been described in the former part of this volume.

A low door and a flight of steps lead down to another suite of chambers of similar form and construction below those just described. In these we found some of the most rare and elegant sarcophagi, in respect to form, ornamental work and adornment, that I have ever beheld in any country. Each of them consisted of two half cylinders of white marble excavated within; and which when placed together resembled the shaft of a beautiful pillar. The bottom part is of comparatively plain workmanship, but the lid or upper piece is literally covered with the most elaborately carved foliage in *basso relievo*, traced in vines, roses, and lily-work.

The groove or cavity for the body, which was

* See Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 21.

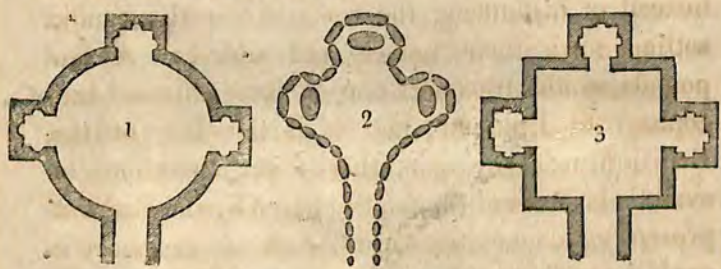
principally hollowed out of the bottom part, was about two feet broad and a foot deep; a sufficiently large space to contain the body of an ordinary sized person. The ends of the sarcophagus were also carved; and in its form and appearance it resembled very much the large carriage trunks of former days.

The niches for these sarcophagi were somewhat different from those in the upper chambers, and formed the segment of a dome similar to those that I have described as existing at Tyre. Above the coffin is a small niche apparently made for the purpose of holding a lamp, though not unlike those places found in heathen temples, for containing votive offerings.

When describing some of the peculiarities of the tombs that I discovered at Tyre, I mentioned the similarity that existed between the ground-plan of the Egyptian, the Phœnician, the Grecian, and the Irish (as exhibited in the cromleigh of New Grange*) in all of which the tomb consists of a stone chamber, having three recesses or tabernacles for bodies, i. e. one on either side, and

* Although not quite in place here, it may be interesting to antiquaries to learn that the volutes and lozenge-shaped marks upon the stones of New Grange, which are supposed to be Ogham characters, and which are believed by many to tell the tale or story of that remarkable place, have lately been found upon stones that form the wall of the chamber on the *flat* side, and where until they had suffered some late dilapidations they *could never have been seen.* In a recent visit to this place I found

one opposite the entrance. Now in these chambers that I have just described, the same character is preserved, showing a similarity of sepulchral architecture throughout these several countries, which preserve the type, though they differ in form. Sometimes we find the crypt of a round form, as at Alexandria, and in a few instances at Tyre, see No. 1. The eastern nations who had made greater progress in the arts, carved their tombs out of the solid rock; the western piled up great stones for a similar purpose, as may be seen in the annexed wood-cut, No. 2, which represents the ground plan of the Irish—while at Jerusalem, in Asia Minor, and in other parts of Egypt and the east, it is square, as in No. 3.



Many of the chambers in the royal caves are so filled up with stones and rubbish that it is with great difficulty they can be entered. It is evident that the outer door was constructed for the

them on the stones of the second row from the lining of the chamber; consequently, as they were never intended to be seen, I do not think they relate to the cromleigh at all; but were used in a later age, on account of some supposed sanctity attached to them by a people who may not have known the character.

purpose of concealing the entrance, and I have little doubt but that a similar set of chambers exists on the other side. Much remains to be done in clearing away the rubbish and carefully exploring these and all the other tombs in the environs of the city; and I am convined that great light would be thrown upon the subject by such an examination.

How much would science be benefitted and how greatly would it redound to the honour of those travellers who go about from place to place, merely for the sake of saying that they have been there, and scribbling their names upon whatever they can reach; were they to spend a little time and money in examining these places which would amply repay them, and confer a benefit upon society; instead of disfiguring the roofs, &c. with a candle setting forth their names and address. A few pounds would transport one of these splendid sarcophagi to England; and it is the duty of the British Museum or some other of our institutions, to avail themselves of the facility given by the Basha at present for conveying it to Beyrout; from whence it could be easily transported to England by one of our steamers. The crime of plunder that has been so justly inveighed against in Greece and Italy, where a more enlightened and refined people exist, could not be justly chargeable in this case, for in removing any of these antiquities we would be but preserving them from destruction, for the Mohammadan takes especial delight in defacing and mutilating any object of

antiquity existing in the country, and breaking down "the carved work thereof with axes and hammers." As there are no references to these sepulchres in Scripture history or in any ancient manuscripts or works that have yet been discovered or published, it would be needless to speculate upon their age, or the persons by whom they were constructed.

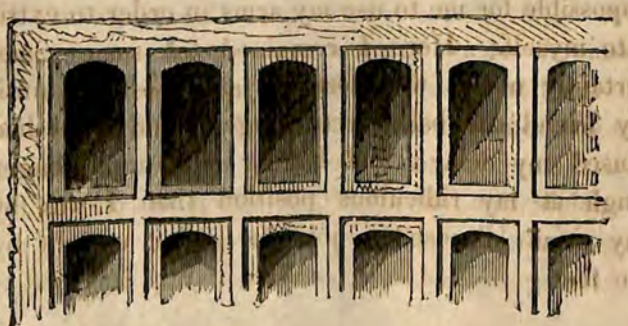
We next bent our steps to the Tombs of the Judges, as tradition has been pleased to call them; and on our way passed through the level district of Scopo, where the camp of Titus was placed. These tombs are situated about two miles north of the city, the intervening tract of ground being rugged and mostly uncultivated. Fig-trees, olives, and sycamores, however, redeem it from the term barren; and in some places we passed vineyards, in a few of which were erected towers and wine-presses, reminding us of the descriptions given of them in Scripture history. Indeed it was impossible to travel through this land of sacred associations where every object in the landscape, every custom of the country, and each of the common usages and forms of expression, both within and without the city, hourly exhibited to us some ancient rite, or scriptural reference, without feeling that we were placed amid the scenes from which were drawn the descriptions and the imagery of the prophetic writers, and which furnished materials for the striking parables of the Saviour.

The vast cemetery in which it is supposed the

Judges of Israel were interred, occupies the front of a stratum of rock facing the south-west, and situated on the way-side leading to Samaria. Some of these tombs are detached, while others are found in clusters; altogether the space covered by them is rather more than a quarter of a mile in length. The front of each tomb consists of a plain, square, and unadorned aperture, cut in the rock somewhat similar to the portico of the royal sepulchres: in one instance I observed a pediment with some rude floral ornaments that indicated its Jewish architecture. One of these outer halls was 30 feet long, but the generality of the tombs were 12 feet long by 8 or 9 high. It is remarkable that none of these sepulchral grottos look toward the city. From these outer halls a small low door, generally 2 feet high, by 1 foot 10 inches wide, leads either into an ante-chamber, or directly into the crypt in which the body was placed. In some instances there were also doors in the side of the portico or outer hall; and each of these doors was originally closed by a slab that fitted into a groove cut in the rock around the sides of the aperture. The floors of the chambers are about a foot or eighteen inches below the level of the outer doors. In order to give my readers some conception of the form of these tombs, and the appearance which they at present exhibit, I subjoin the following description of one of the largest of them which we explored.

Having lighted our candles, we proceeded to

examine the cavern under the direction of the baker belonging to the convent, who accompanied us as guide. This man, though a half-witted creature, was one of the most enthusiastic explorers of sepulchres that I have ever met. Internally, this tomb consisted of a series of chambers, entered by small doors leading from one to the other, some being below and others above the level of the outer hall. Each apartment formed a square, each of its sides being 9 feet 6 inches in length and 7 feet in height. Three of the sides were excavated with two rows of apertures or places for bodies, not unlike pigeon holes or the Columbariæ of the Romans, the tiers being separated by a projecting ledge. Each aperture was 30 inches high, 17 wide, and 6 feet 9 inches in depth, slightly arched at top, and having a square groove hewn in the rock round the entrance, in all probability for the purpose of receiving a door similar to that in the external opening. The accompanying wood-cut gives an accurate representation of the appearance which the interior of this tomb at present exhibits.



The chamber that I have taken this drawing from, contained thirteen such apertures, and the entire tomb no less than fifty-eight. But the most extraordinary and astonishing circumstance connected with these excavations, is the wonderful skill and architectural precision with which they have been all hewn out of the solid rock; the time, labour, and expense employed in constructing them must have been enormous. All the parts of these soroi are in due proportion, and their sides do not deviate an inch from the proper direction of each; and this as well as the manner in which they were excavated, is the more difficult to understand, for the workman in constructing each, had barely sufficient room for his own body. The labour was only equalled by the ingenuity shown in its performance.

Having contrived to squeeze myself into one of these holes, in order to examine its farthest extremity, and to find whether it emitted a hollow sound, my light went out, and I stuck fast in the place, the narrowness of which rendered it impossible for me to use my arms in order to extricate myself. Here I remained for some time, certainly not in the most enviable position, until my friend the baker returning to see what had caused my delay; and having enjoyed a longer laugh at my ridiculous position than I was by any means disposed to join in, pulled me out by the feet.

The bodies must have been put into these holes without any coffins. I do not think that these sepulchres belonged to any particular person; for fifty-eight cryptœ are rather too many for any family mausoleum. Could conjecture as to the mode in which these chambers and vast excavations were formed be admitted, I would say that from the appearance presented by the hewn surface, the rock was first roughly cut with an instrument in the form of a pick with a flattened point, and then smoothed by some fine-grained tool, like a comb-pointed chisel. A similar appearance is exhibited on some of the rocks, out of which are formed the sepulchral chambers in Egypt.

Some others of these tombs consist of simple low-arched grottos of an oblong form, leading from the ante-chambers. There are also others similar to those at Telmessus, Laodicea, and Tortosa, having ledges at the sides; and again, others having niches for the bodies, representing the segment of a dome, like to those in the royal sepulchres. It appears extraordinary that this wonderful cemetery has not been accurately described by previous travellers; and it is to be regretted that Clarke did not visit it, as his ingenuity and extensive knowledge of sepulchral architecture would, in all probability, have thrown much light upon this place; whose date, by whom, or for what purpose erected, it is now difficult to determine. Sandys and Pococke briefly notice it, under the name

of the Sepulchres of the Prophets. In some of the Corinthian tombs at Petra, there are pigeon-holes of a similar form and construction. There are no inscriptions of any kind on these tombs of the Judges, nor any vestiges of human remains whatever; indeed so new and perfect do some of them appear, that they look as if they had been constructed but yesterday.

On our return to the city, we entered the valley of Jehosaphat at its northern extremity; the northern elevation of Mount Olivet rising to the left, from the brow of which the city presents the appearance shown in the accompanying representation.

The deep gorge or ravine that lies between the city and the mount is one of the most memorable localities about Jerusalem; and the associa-

tions connected with it are of no ordinary interest. It might with propriety be termed the valley of tombs; for the lower part of it, together with that of Hinnom, is one immense catacomb, containing the remains of the inhabitants of the city, from its first erection to the present time. Its sides are in some places so precipitous that they can only be ascended in a zig-zag direction. The brook Kedron winds through its centre; which, however, at the time of our visit, was completely dry, its course being only marked by a rough, pebbly, stream-way; though in winter, or after heavy rains, it is a rapid torrent, only passable by bridges thrown across it. One of these, supposed to be that over which our Lord was conducted on the morning of his betrayal, leads to the Mount of Olives, and is placed opposite St. Stephen's gate; and on the intervening ground there is a well, beside which is pointed out the spot on which the protomartyr suffered. This bridge conducts the visitor towards the garden of the passion, and the summit of the ascension. The other bridge is situated lower down in the valley, beside the pillar of Absalom, and leads to Bethany and Jericho.

The gloom and stillness that in general rests over this valley of the shadow of death, is well calculated to make a deep impression on the minds of the Hebrew and the Mooslim; and to strengthen the opinions which they entertain, that within it is to take place the final judgment; here also may the

Christian speculate on the probability of its connection with the battle of Armageddon.

Traversing it from north to south, the first object that attracts the attention of the visitor is a remarkable vault upon the left-hand side, named by tradition as the burial-place of the Virgin Mary.* This tomb resembles in its external appearance a large ice-house, and is entered by a small door, with a pointed gothic arch, supported by clustered pillars. In the square court in front were squatted some of the most importunate, nay, I might almost say violent beggars that I ever encountered. These blear-eyed, filthy crones, clad in rags, and covered with vermin, set upon us the moment we made our appearance, yelling out, "a Hadgie! a Hadgie! Buckshese, a Hadgie!" in voices suited to the Furies. A piastre given to one was but the signal for a general attack. They came rushing upon us like so many harpies, and some were so bold and determined as to lay hold of us, in order to obtain their demands. Had C. O., the graphic sketcher of the beggars of an Irish village, been there, I am sure he would have resigned the claims of the western islanders to those mendicants that swarm round the Virgin's tomb.

A flight of forty-eight broad steps conducted us to a subterranean chapel, then in possession of the Greeks, and lighted by numerous small

* The first notice we have of this tomb, is that given by Adamnanus, an Irish monk.

lamps suspended from the ceiling, whose dim, sickly light shed a most funereal gloom over the place. We were led by one of the priests into a small, low stone chamber, somewhat larger than that of the Holy Sepulchre, and placed behind the principal altar of the chapel. The walls of this little crypt were hung with tawdry, faded tapestry; and beneath a white marble slab, like the table of an altar, we were shewn what is said to be the tomb of Mary. Other similar cryptœ were pointed out to us, as the sepulchres of Joseph, Anna, and Caiaphas. This tomb is a place of undoubted antiquity; but at what period it had been constructed, or what its original use was, the learned have not yet been able to determine. The opinion of Pococke, that it may have been the sepulchre of the Empress Melisendis, is ingenious, but unsupported by proof.

Leaving the Virgin's tomb, our conductor pointed out to us the spot on which it is said the Saviour dropt bloody sweat. This is a circular cave, surrounded by a wall about breast high, and covered at top by an iron grating, lest human foot should desecrate the sacred spot. A subterranean passage leads into its interior. This station is in possession of the Latins; but the simple-hearted curate seemed ashamed of the story he repeated to us; and seeing a smile of scepticism in our faces, he concluded his narrative with "but it is mere tradition."

We now commenced the ascent of the Mount of Olives. What feelings and associations does not that name inspire! Hallowed from the earliest record of this wonderful and mysterious place, of all other spots about Jerusalem the Mount of Olives was to me the most interesting; and while climbing its sides, or gazing from its summit, I must confess that I felt a holy awe that I did not experience elsewhere; and that more reverence and devotional enthusiasm possessed my mind than while hurried along by boisterous monks and fanatic devotees, through places which, whatever may be their sanctify, are desecrated by tawdry superstitious ornaments; as well as by the unholy scenes that are continually taking place around them.

But we hasten to a spot that few can visit without emotion—Gethsemane*—situated nearly opposite St. Stephen's gate, and looking down upon the valley of Jehosaphat. It is a plot of ground forty-seven paces square, sown with corn and enclosed by a low, rude wall. Eight aged olive trees still exist within the enclosure, and are pointed out as those beneath whose shade the Man of Sorrows experienced the bitter foretaste of that death he was about to suffer—the "pangs—the throes—the agonizing struggle, when soul and body part;" and

* From the גת *gath*, a press, and שמן *shemen*, oil, the garden of the oil press; probably the place where the produce of the Mount of Olives was prepared.

hardened indeed must be the heart that can coldly contemplate this sacred spot where the Lord of life and glory drank that bitter cup of superhuman suffering, for sinful man's redemption, and not partake of some such kindred feelings.

Perhaps the readers of these pages may ask me what authority there is for supposing this place to be the garden mentioned by the evangelists, and how the olives within the enclosure could possibly have survived through nineteen centuries; and those learned in history or in works of travel may say, did not Titus cut down all the timber around the city; and did not the tenth legion of his army encamp on this very hill? True, gentle readers; but I answer—that the locality assigned to this garden renders its identity very probable; especially when we consider the circumstances that are detailed in the Gospels of the route taken by our Lord and his disciples when they went forth from the city after having observed the passover, and instituted the supper. On that memorable night they crossed the brook Kedron, in all probability opposite St. Stephen's, or the Sheep-gate, and from thence proceeded by the nearest route to the garden on the side of the mount; which corresponds exactly with the present locality of Gethsemane. It is also true that the Romans cut down the wood about Jerusalem; but the timber of an olive tree would be of little value indeed, in constructing engines, towers, and battering-rams,

to be used against cyclopean walls such as I have described; and these trees in particular must then have been so slender that the besiegers would have considered them unfit for any such purpose. They are undoubtedly the largest; and I may add with safety, the most ancient olive trees in the world. The largest is twenty-four feet in girth above its roots, though its topmost branch is not thirty feet from the ground. The trunks of most of them are hollow in the centre, and built up with stones, like to their aged brother of Oratava.*

There is nothing unnatural in assigning an age of nineteen centuries to these patriarchs of the vegetable kingdom, whose growth is perhaps the slowest of any in existence. They have not borne fruit for some years past; but, though their trunks are greatly decayed, yet, from the hardness of the wood, and each part being so retentive of life, there is still a considerable head to each, whose light-coloured, silky leaves hang like so many silver locks over their time-worn and aged stems, that now, in the evening of life, are fast tottering to decay. But, having witnessed scenes of suffering, and the long dark night of gloom, and fearful retribution that has sunk the pride and prostrated the glory of Jerusalem, they seem yet to linger for the morning twilight of that bright era that will shortly dawn upon the land of Judah. The recollections of the hours that I

* See page 148, vol. i.

have passed beneath their shade, shall last while memory and reason retain their seat, and the leaves plucked from their branches be treasured with as much (though with different feelings of) devotion, as are the beads and rosaries of my Roman Catholic brethren. Yes; and the cross formed of their wood, which the kind-hearted Father Benjamin presented me with on the morning of our departure, shall ever hold a conspicuous place in my cabinet.

In the vicinity of this garden were pointed out to us the usual traditionary places, attached to which there is not a single shadow of probability. Some that we examined have been lately erected, and have *recent* Latin inscriptions upon them. But I will cease to enumerate them, nor would I have mentioned them here except for the following reason. They are *opposition shops:* that is, the Latins having of late years, and especially since Napoleon's invasion of Palestine, lost their influence in the country, as well as at the Porte, the different holy places are now rented by the Greeks or the Armenians, but particularly the former. To make up for this deficiency the Latin fathers immediately pretend to have *discovered* some spot in the neighbourhood of one of these places, still more holy than the former; and at once establish its sanctity by reputed miracles, by masses and processions.

Our track now led toward the summit of the mount, by a narrow winding road. The sides

of the hill are partly cultivated; the corn was just becoming green; and the fields and enclosures were studded with numerous low bushy olive trees; the stones of whose fruit are manufactured into beads, and considered very sacred. We passed several cisterns, some of which bear evident marks of antiquity. The ascent is toilsome, and as we rested to take breath the prospect gradually became more extended, and increased in beauty; for, step by step as we ascended, the city opened to our view, and like the unfolding of an immense scroll or the turning of a panorama, Jerusalem and the splendid Mosque of Omar became developed, till we gained the summit, when it was so completely under our eyes that we could readily discover every place of note within and around its walls; nay, trace every street and lane that winds among its white, dome-roofed houses. In fact so very much does the mount overhang the city, that the Lord may literally be said to have "wept *over* it."

The summit is crowned by an Armenian convent and a mosque; and in a space encircled by a high wall, we were conducted to the place pointed out as that from which the Ascension took place. Within this area there is a small octagonal building of very tasteful architecture, and in its outer decoration not unlike an ancient Greek temple. In the centre of this oratory a portion of the naked rock encircled by a marble casing, is said to be the last spot of earth touched by the Saviour's feet. On it there is a mark

something like the impression of a foot, which is believed by all devout pilgrims to be the track left in it miraculously by the Saviour; but it is now so much kissed away, and worn down by the multitude of casts in wax and plaster that are daily taken from it, that it requires considerable faith in order to recognise any resemblance to that which it is stated to be. The Christian pilgrims who went up with us, knelt around and devoutly kissed and rubbed their faces on this spot; which is considered a relic of great value even by the Mooslims. An Armenian priest had the care of the place; but none of the Christian sects are allowed to celebrate religious services within it. The Latins informed us that they had intended purchasing a firman from the Basha empowering them to perform mass within it, but were deterred from doing so by the fear of being out-bid by their richer neighbours the Greeks, the next year.

A little to the south of the place of Ascension, I visited a subterranean chamber in the form of a cone, having a hole at the top. It is lined by an extremely fine and solid cement, similar to that coating both the cisterns lower down upon the side of the hill, and those that I noticed outside the present wall near Jeremiah's grotto; to which latter cisterns it bears a most remarkable resemblance in every particular. Clarke was of opinion that this cave was one of the "high places" erected to the worship of Ashtoreth by Solomon, and that it answered the des-

cription of "the high places that were before Jerusalem which were on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth, the abomination of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh, the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom, the abomination of the children of Ammon."* This Mount of Corruption he supposed to be the Mount of Olives, but offers no proof to substantiate his opinion. I see nothing, however, as yet, to invalidate the opinion as to the Hill of Evil Council or Mount of Offence which is to the south of the city being the eminence that Solomon crowned with the high places of pagan worship; and the cave itself which Clarke considered to have been one of the high places, is identically the same as those shown, and believed to be cisterns, in other localities; and if there were persons dwelling on the summit of this hill, such a contrivance was not only probable but indispensable. The Mount of Olives is mentioned in Scripture long before these "high places" could have been set up, and it is as likely to have been mentioned by that name as by the title of the Mount of Corruption; an appellation given to the site of these places from the abominations practised on them, and their leading the Israelites into the sin of idolatry. Had, however, the identity of the place which is more generally acknowledged as the Mount

* 2 Kings, xxiii. 13.

of Offence, remained unquestioned, it would consequently have interfered with Clarke's topography; and could not therefore be Mount Sion, as he has endeavoured to prove.

Not only is the prospect from this point grand and imposing, but the associations that it recalls to the mind, and the impressions that it leaves, are well calculated to inspire fervour and excitement. Jerusalem lay beneath us, stretched like a carpet at our feet, part of its ancient walls and the golden gate of its temple being distinctly visible.* The church, that covers Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, formed a prominent object in the picture; and the magnificent Mosque of Omar standing on the site of the temple, appeared so close beneath us, as though we could have leaped into its court. This building is of an octagon figure, and is raised upon a large platform of masonry; and, surmounted by its stately and enormous dome, its walls coated with light blue tiles, its golden crescent glancing in the sunbeam, and standing within a large open space of green sward, studded with olives, cedars, and cypresses, added considerably to the apparent magnitude of the edifice, and heightened the effect of the whole; while the lines of Mooslim pilgrims traversing its

* A panorama of Jerusalem was lately exhibited in this city, and many persons criticised it on account of the faded look that the different places appeared to have. This appearance I have often remarked in the original; and in this consisted the great truth and accuracy of the representation.

courts and avenues, gave life and animation to the scene. Sion raised its acropolis above the city, and the tombs and monuments of the mighty dead that slumber in the valley of Jehosaphat, told of the greatness of the past. To the extreme left the heights of Bethlehem, and the conical hill, called the "Mount of the French," formed prominent objects in the landscape; while to the right appeared the stony country that leads toward Damascus Behind us to the south-east, the dull waters of the Dead Sea could be seen in the distance, having a bluish mist brooding over the perpendicular wall of the mountains of Moab and Arabia, that rise from its southern shores. A little more northward glimpses are obtained of the plain of Jericho, with the silver thread of Jordan's stream winding its way to the lake that covers the doomed cities of the plain.

There is this charm about Mount Olivet, that there can be no cavil as to its identity, no doubt of its being the favourite resort of our Lord and his disciples, and the scene of some of the most remarkable events in his life. Even though the spot pointed out may not be the actual Gethsemane, we knew that it must have been within our view; and though antiquarians may dispute as to the exact position of Calvary, yet we were convinced that at this moment we must have been looking at the place. No one acquainted with the past history of Jerusalem, or who has read and reflected upon the

prophetic descriptions of its future state, can look down upon it from this spot unmoved. Its story rushes unbidden and irresistibly upon the mind; its many privileges; its slighted and despised mercies; its purchased woes, and glory yet to come—with Solomon as its king, Melchizideck its priest, Hiram its architect, Isaiah and Ezekiel its prophets, and Moab and Tadmor its dependencies, awaken feelings which they only who have stood upon that spot can experience.

"Oh! fair and favour'd city, where of old
The balmy airs were rich with melody,
That led her pomp beneath the cloudless sky
In vestments flaming with the orient gold;
How stately then was every palm-deck'd street,
Down which the maidens danced with tinkling feet,
How proud the elders in the lofty gate!
How crowded all her nation's solemn feasts
With white-robed Levites, and high-mitred priests;
How gorgeous all her temple's sacred state!"*

The many vicissitudes that it had suffered under the hand of its successive conquerors, appeared to rise and pass before me—invaded by the Theban Shishak; besieged by Pharaoh Necho; razed and trodden under foot by the Babylonish conqueror; visited by Alexander; ruled by the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ; then governed by the Maccabees; bowed beneath the Roman yoke—when Jesus would have gathered it as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and it would not—again begirt

* Milman's "Fall of Jerusalem."

and hemmed in by the soldiers of Vespasian; its temple pillaged, and its smoking ruins levelled with the dust.

"Her tale of splendour now is told and done,
Her wine-cup of festivity is spilt,
And all is o'er, her grandeur, and her guilt.
Her gold is dim, and mute her music's voice,
The Heathen o'er her perish'd pomp rejoice;
Her streets are razed, her maidens sold for slaves—
Her gates thrown down, her elders in their graves.
Her feasts are holden 'mid the Gentiles' scorn,
By stealth her priesthood's holy garments worn;
Oh! long foretold, though slow accomplish'd fate,
Her house is left unto her desolate."*

Art and vanity have not been able to deface the natural aspect of this spot with tapestry and marble. All here wears the garb of unsullied nature, unadorned by the pomp of religious pride, and tinselled decoration of man's hand; no perfumed incense smokes from the golden censor; no flaunting banner waves in its refreshing breezes; and no jarring tones of the lip-worship of the creature grate upon the ear. Here all is real, and wears the livery of creation; if rocks are bare and rugged, they are those a Saviour trod; if olive-trees are stunted, it is their nature to be so; and though they want the verdure of more humid climes, they are the descendants of those that sheltered Emanuel's head; and if the earth appears barren, still it is that on which the agonizing sweat of Jesus fell.

* Milman.

Many and varied have been the scenes of interest and excitement that I have experienced in other lands. I have stood beside the boiling furnace of one of the highest craters that the foot of man can reach, and marked from that stupendous elevation the glorious and wide-extended landscape, as it unfolded to my wildered gaze, when, sketched by the rapid pencil of the morning's dawn, object after object rose to view. I have climbed one of the greatest monuments that art ever reared, and as my visual organs wandered over the ancient land of Egypt, the eye of mind took in, in rapid succession, the substance of the present and the shadows of the past. But these scenes have faded, or are remembered as a vision of the night. I have groped amid the dark tombs of centuries long gone by, till to my fevered imagination the dead rose among the living; yet that too has lost its interest; as well as the excitement with which my fancy peopled the theatre of the Doric Lord, and conjured into shape and form the heroes and philosophers that once roamed through the streets of the vast Grecian Necropolis. All these exist but in remembrance; not so the impressions left by the scenes that I have described at Jerusalem, before which all others sink into comparative insignificance; for, although some thousand miles may intervene between me and it, its glories are still phantom-like before me,' even amidst the stir and bustle of every-day life. "If I forget thee, oh, Jerusalem, let my right hand forget

her cunning."* The recollection of what it was; the knowledge of what it is; and the expectation of what it shall yet be, are considerations which, added to an acquaintance with its locality, must ever act as a spell upon the minds of those who have seen and felt its beauties, its charms, and its power. And although we may mourn over the present superstitions practised in this Deicide city, and the blindness of its once favoured inhabitants; yet the feelings that it awakens, and the recollections that it leaves, force us to exclaim with the disciple, "Lord, it is good for us to be here," and lead us to anticipate the time when

> "——— shall glorious as a gem,
> Shine thy Mount Jerusalem;
> Earth by angel foot be trod,
> One great garden of her God;
> Till are dried the martyr's tears,
> Through a thousand glorious years."

Again descending to Gethsemane, we continued our course through the valley of Jehosaphat, by those remarkable monuments denominated the Sepulchres of the Patriarchs, which have been described, as well as drawn, with great accuracy by most writers on Palestine. They are placed on the eastern side of Kedron, nearly opposite the southern angle of the present wall, and are some of the rarest and most extraordinary specimens of

* Rev. G. Croly.

sepulchral architecture in existence. They are hewn out of the solid rock, with temple-like fronts. Some of them are enormous masses separated from the rest of the rock, and left standing like so many monolithic temples—monuments that record as well (if not more so) the labour and ingenuity of their constructors, as those to whose memory they have been erected. The names assigned to these tombs are Jehosaphat, James, Zechariah, and Absalom. This latter is the most elegant and tasteful piece of architecture in Judea, indeed I might almost add in the east; and viewed from the valley beneath, it is one of the most beautiful tombs that I have ever seen in any country. It consists of a mass of rock twenty-four feet square, separated from the rest, and standing in a small enclosure that surrounds three of its sides. It has four pilasters with Ionic capitals on each front; the two outer ones being flat, while those in the centre are semicircular; the frieze is ornamented with triglyphs. The upper part is composed of several pieces, and surmounted by a small spire terminating in a bunch of leaves. There is a hole in the back immediately beneath the architrave, through which I was enabled to climb into its interior. As the door by which it was entered was concealed, this opening was formed, in all probability, for the purpose of rifling the sepulchre of its contents. Within, it presents the usual form of eastern tombs, having niches at the sides for

bodies, and on entering it I was instantly struck with the remarkable similarity of the chamber to the interior of the temple that I have already described, which stands near the sea at Telmessus, (see page 83.) Indeed the interior of this tomb is so like that building, both in the construction of its domed roof, and the arrangement of its arched sides, that one would be inclined to suppose it was a miniature representation of that edifice.

The general opinion of antiquaries is, that the Grecian architecture exhibited on the exterior of this rock is no test of the date of its construction; and, that it was added in later times; and a similar workmanship is visible on the other neighbouring tombs. To it may be referred that rebuke of our Lord to the Pharisees, regarding their garnishing the sepulchres of the prophets. The tradition is, that this pillar, of which we have an account in the Book of Samuel, was erected by Absalom. "Now Absalom in his life-time had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the *king's dale*; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the pillar after his own name; and it is called unto this day Absalom's Place."* Josephus also informs us, that "Absalom had erected for himself a stone marble pillar in the *king's dale*, two furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom's Hand, saying, that if his children were killed, his name would remain by that pillar."† I

* 2 Samuel, xviii. 18.

† Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews, book vii. chap. 10, sec. 3.

see no reason to doubt the tradition regarding this monument, although the historian has stated it to be at a greater distance from the city than we now find it; but this is an error into which he often falls. In confirmation of its supposed origin I may add, that it has ever been a place of detestation to the Hebrews; and every Jew who passes it by throws a stone at it to this day; so that a large cairn has formed round its base.* The tomb of Zechariah is somewhat similar in form; but crowned by an enormous pyramid of stone, many tons weight. No entrance has yet been effected into this, though it is reported that one is known to the Jews. Shortly before our visit, some arching had given way at the back of the enclosure that surrounds it, but this, our time did not permit us to examine. Future explorers would no doubt be richly rewarded by a careful inspection of this, as well as all the other monuments in this cemetery.

The style of the whole of these four sepulchres, but especially the two that I have more particularly noticed, is very peculiar, and is totally different from other tombs in this neighbourhood. An inspection of them would lead us to believe that, at the time of their erection, the Hebrews had not

* I have already remarked upon this practice of erecting stone heaps upon such places, practised among the Welsh and Irish (page 72); and a similar rite exists in Greece by way of anathema.

quite forgot the lessons on architecture which their forefathers had learned in Egypt. Around these mausolea, upon the sides of the rocks, and the slopes of Mount Olivet there are hundreds of plain, flat grave-stones belonging to the Jews. All these have Hebrew inscriptions, some of which a Hebrew scholar, resident in the city, informed me were dated a short time subsequent to the Christian era.

Proceeding onward through this valley, we found the whole face of the precipitous rock upon its eastern side, excavated into one vast and almost continuous catacomb, consisting of chambers of various sizes. Some of these were simple square apartments formed to contain a single corpse, and closed by a stone door, fitted into a groove round the entrance, so accurate that a seal might have been applied at the joining, to make sure the sepulchre; and the first of them that I visited at once explained to me the form of the tomb of the Arimathean nobleman. There are other tombs in this cemetery formed upon a larger scale, and probably intended for family mausolea, having cryptœ and niches which are capable of containing from ten to twenty bodies. These sepulchral grots are continued down the valley of Siloam, beyond the southern limit of the present city, to the village of Siloam, having galleries, stairs, and small terraces, cut out of the rock, leading from one to the other.

On my first visit to this place I was induced to

continue my search till, on poking my head into one of the cryptæ, I was startled not a little by the wild, unearthly scream of an old Arab crone who inhabited its interior. The noise she made became the signal for a general outcry; the dwellers in the different caves, aroused by her cries, peeped out to know the cause; looking like so many beavers popping their heads out of their holes to reconnoitre an enemy. The children ran shouting in all directions; curses and imprecations fell fast and heavy on the Giaour and the Nazarene; and the whole Troglodite population of this cemetery of the living, became as much alarmed as if I had got into the hareem of the Basha. As may be anticipated, I made a hasty retreat, amidst the general uproar; and took good care never to venture again so far upon a tomb-hunting expedition into Siloam.

All these sepulchres are now inhabited, and they, with some mud-built huts at the bottom of the valley, constitute the village of Siloam, which contains upwards of 1,500 Arabs; a vicious, quarrelling, and dishonest set of people, and noted for such propensities for centuries past. They were the principal ringleaders in the late rebellion at Jerusalem; and I never visited the neighbourhood that I did not see them quarrelling among themselves. They look more like the gipsy race, both in habits and appearance than any other that I know of; and their livelihood is principally ob-

tained by plunder, and the cultivation of the lower parts of the neighbouring valleys of Hinnom and Jehosaphat.

The Fountain of Siloam, sometimes called the upper pool of Siloam, is situated in an indentation formed in the side of the hill, beneath the south-eastern angle of the city wall and nearly opposite the place where the Tyropœon valley separates the eastern sides of Mounts Sion and Moriah. It is entered by an arched vault, from which a flight of steps leads down to a low vaulted passage cut in the solid rock, and which leads in a north-west direction beneath the site of the ancient temple. The oft-repeated and, I might say, the hacknied quotation of

> "Siloa's brook that flow'd
> Fast by the Oracle of God,"

has never, I think, been properly understood, because both this fountain and that called the pool of the same name, are placed at a distance from the site of the temple. The following fact may illustrate and explain this quotation.

During the rebellion that I have already alluded to, the Arabs of the opposite village gained access to the city by means of the conduit of this pool, which again rises to the surface at a well placed within the enclosure of the Mosque of Omar. Dr. Richardson *conjectured* that this subterranean passage proceeded under the mountain, but heretofore

no proof could be given of its doing so, nor was it known to travellers that it communicated with the interior of the city. The passage is evidently the work of art. The water in it is generally about two feet deep, and a man may go through it in a stooping position. May it not have been so constructed by the ancient inhabitants for a sally-port, or secret outlet from the temple? for it cannot have been made to conduct the water from the fountain into the city, inasmuch as it is lower than that point, and the stream flows down from it. The descriptions given of this remarkable well, both in the Scriptures and by Josephus, and the position which it holds with regard to the ancient walls—as I have shown in the preceding part of this volume when treating of the topography—leave little doubt upon my mind regarding its identity. I do not think that it is connected with, or receives its supply from the aqueduct that brings the water from the fountain of Solomon, to be noticed hereafter, especially as that water is tasteless; whereas this is a mineral spring of a brackish taste, and somewhat of the smell of Harrowgate water, but in a very slight degree.* It is said to possess considerable medicinal properties; and is much frequented by pilgrims. The

* I brought home a jar of this water, and am informed by Professor Kane, who has analysed it, that it is a strongly saline and sulphureous spring, whose specific gravity is 1003,5; that it contains much common salt, some carbonate and sulphate of lime, a trace of muriate of magnesia, together with a quantity of sulphureted hydrogen gas.

remains of a church surround the vault at the top; and by the Latin fathers it is called the Fountain of the Blessed Virgin, from the supposition that she washed the linen of our Lord in its sacred waters.

Continuing our course round the probable line of the ancient walls, along the gentle slope of Sion, we pass by the site of the King's gardens, and arrive at the Lower Pool of Siloam, placed in another indentation of the wall, at the southern extremity of Sion. It is a deep square cistern, lined with masonry, adorned with columns at the sides, and having a flight of steps leading to the bottom, in which there were about two feet of water. It communicates by a subterranean passage with the fountain just described, from which it is distant about six hundred yards. The water enters the pool by a low arched passage, into which the pilgrims, numbers of whom are generally to be found around it, put their heads as a part of the ceremony;* and wash their clothes in the purifying stream that issues from it.

A very remarkable circumstance is related of this pool and fountain:—It is reported that the water in them is subject to a daily tide; and by some writers it is stated to ebb and flow under lunar influence. I must confess that, on my first visits to the place, I was much astonished; for not only

* In Ireland a similar rite is observed by pilgrims, of putting their head into a hole at several of the stations; particularly at that curious old chapel on the summit of Croagh Patrick.

did I see the mark to which the recently fallen water had risen, but I also perceived that its height was greater at different times of the same day. Many ingenious hypotheses, and many learned arguments have been adduced to account for this extraordinary phenomenon; the wonder and admiration of the pilgrim and the traveller. I think, however, that it can be thus simply accounted for—The stream or outlet from the lower pool is conducted by artificial channels, through the gardens and parterres that lie immediately beneath it in the valley; and it is the chief source of their fertility; for as they are mostly formed of earth which has been carried from other places, they possess no original or natural soil capable of supporting vegetation. Now, immediately on the water-course leaving the pool, it is divided into numbers of little aqueducts, for the purpose of irrigating these different plots; but as there is little water in the pool during the dry season, the Arabs dam up the several streams, in order to collect a sufficient quantity in small ponds adjoining each garden; and this they must all do at the same time, or there would be an unfair division of the fertilizing fluid. These dams are generally made in the evening, and the water is drawn off in the morning, or sometimes two or three times a day; and thus the reflux of the water that they hold, gives the appearance of an ebb and flow.

The surplus water is finally collected into a small

stream that joins the brook Gihon, near its junction with the Kedron; but both these latter streams were dry during our visit. This lower pool is that mentioned by Josephus, under the name of "Solomon's pool;" and by Nehemiah, as "the pool that was made."

We next turn into the valley of Hinnom, which is bounded on the north by the southern slopes of Sion, that are here cultivated and divided into olive yards and corn fields. A few caves and rock-carved vaults occur in this locality; one in particular our guide pointed out to us as the cave where Peter hid himself after the denial of his Master. The south side of the valley is steep and rugged, and gradually rises into a hill having two summits; both of which are, however, lower than that of Sion. The western of these elevations is of a remarkable conical shape, corresponding to the description given of it by the sacred historians. It has been called the Mount of Offence, because on it, it is thought were erected the high places to Ashtoreth and Molech; which Clarke supposed that he discovered in the remains of a cistern on the Mount of Olives. The locality is very likely to be that on which they were erected; for the valley immediately beneath it was long noted as a place desecrated by the idolatrous worship of Tophet and Molech. Sandys states that, from the church of the Armenians on Mount Sion, he "descended into the valley of Gehinnon, which divideth Mount Sion from the Mountain of Offence; so called, for

that Solomon by the persuasion of his wives here sacrificed to Chamock and Moleck; but now by the Christians called the Mountain of Ill Council, where they say the Pharisees took council against Jesus; whose height yet shows the relics of no mean buildings."

Toward the eastern extremity of this valley, and in the side of the hill that forms the eastern elevation of the Mountain of Offence, are the sepulchres of the sons of David, that I noticed before; and also those discovered by Dr. Clarke. Among these there is one pointed out as the tomb of Isaiah, who, tradition says, was sawn asunder at the Oak Rogel, beside the well where Nehemiah is reported to have discovered the sacred fire on the return from the captivity. These places are pointed out near to the spot where the water-courses of Gihon and Kedron unite in the neighbouring valley. There is also another crypt called the cave of the apostles, on the walls of which are some remains of fresco, in a very tolerable state of preservation; and it is placed among those which contain the Greek inscriptions before alluded to, particularly that of the word "Sion." I am inclined to think, however, that those sepulchral grottos which contain paintings and Greek inscriptions, were used as small oratories or chapels during the times of persecution, some hundred years ago; and at a period subsequent to the establishment of the Greek church; for the style of the painting is undoubtedly that of the modern Grecian—a

style whose peculiarities are so obvious and remarkable, as to prevent its being mistaken for any other; and the inscription with a *cross* before it, is in all probability coeval with the date of such use. These many chambered sepulchres are all hewn out of the solid rock; but they invariably correspond to the type of the eastern tomb, having horizontal benches for the bodies ranged along the sides.

At the foot of this hill, where it rises from the valley, is pointed out the Aceldama, or Field of Blood, said to be that purchased by the Jewish priests with the thirty pieces of silver that Judas had received for betraying his Master, but which he afterwards returned in remorse. The transaction is thus recorded by the evangelist:—"Then Judas which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. And they said, what is that to us? see thou to that. And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself. And the chief priests took the silver pieces, and said, it is not lawful for to put them into the treasury, because it is the price of blood. And they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field to bury *strangers* in. Wherefore that field was called The Field of Blood, unto this day."* This

* Matthew, xxvii. 3—8.

same transaction is thus noticed in the Acts of the Apostles—"Now this man (Judas) purchased a field with the reward of iniquity; and falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out. And it was known unto all the dwellers at Jerusalem; insomuch as that field is called in their proper tongue, Aceldama,*

* "Aceldama—This *proper tongue* was not the Hebrew, for that had long ceased to be the proper tongue in Palestine; it was a sort of Chaldaio-Syriac which was commonly spoken. The word in the Syriac version is *Chacal-demo*, and literally signifies the *field of blood*, because it was bought by the price of the life or blood of the Lord Jesus."—*Adam Clarke.*

The same learned commentator thus reconciles the discrepancy of the account of the same transaction, given in Acts and in Matthew:—"Probably Judas did not purchase the field himself, but the money for which he sold his Lord was thus applied. See Matt. xxvii. 6—8. It is possible, however, that he might have designed to purchase a field or piece of ground with this reward of his iniquity, and might have been in treaty for it, though he did not close the bargain, as his bringing the money to the treasury proves; the priests knowing his intention might have completed the purchase, and, as Judas was now dead, applied the field thus bought for the burial of *strangers*, i. e. Jews from foreign parts, or *others who, visiting Jerusalem, had died there.* "Though this case is possible, yet the passage will bear a very consistent interpretation without the assistance of this conjecture; for, in ordinary conversation, we often attribute to a man what is the *consequence* of his own actions, though such consequence was never designed nor wished for by himself; thus we say of a man embarking in a hazardous enterprise, *he is gone to seek his death;* of one whose conduct has been ruinous to his reputation, *he has disgraced himelf;* of another who has suffered much in consequence of his crimes, he has purchased repentance at a high price, &c. &c. All these, though undesigned, were consequences of certain acts, as *the buying of the field* was the consequence of Judas's treason."

that is to say, The Field of Blood."* This Field of Blood still retains its name, and is called in every language, and by every people within or about Jerusalem, Jews, Christians and Mohammadans, Aceldama. It is not far distant from the stream of Gihon; and at the period of our visit, there were still the marks and remains of bricks and *pottery-ware* in the adjoining ravine; a place likely to be used for their manufacture, as it contained the clay suited for such purposes, and was in the vicinity of a rivulet. Toward the upper end of this enclosure, the traveller is shown among the many wonders to which tradition, ignorance, and credulity in this country attach the credence due only to historic record, a large, square chamber, sunk in the earth, partly excavated in the rock upon the side of the hill, and partly built of masonry. It is arched at top, and there were formerly on the outside, a number of small cupolas, like the tops of furnaces, with a hole in the centre of each, through which were let down the dead bodies to the vault beneath; much in the same manner as is practised in Naples, at the present day. A tradition existed that the earth in the bottom of this cavern was possessed of some extraordinary destructive or corrosive power; for it was said to completely consume the bodies thrown into it in twenty-four hours; and on account of this supposed quality, ship-loads of it

* Acts, i. 18, 19.

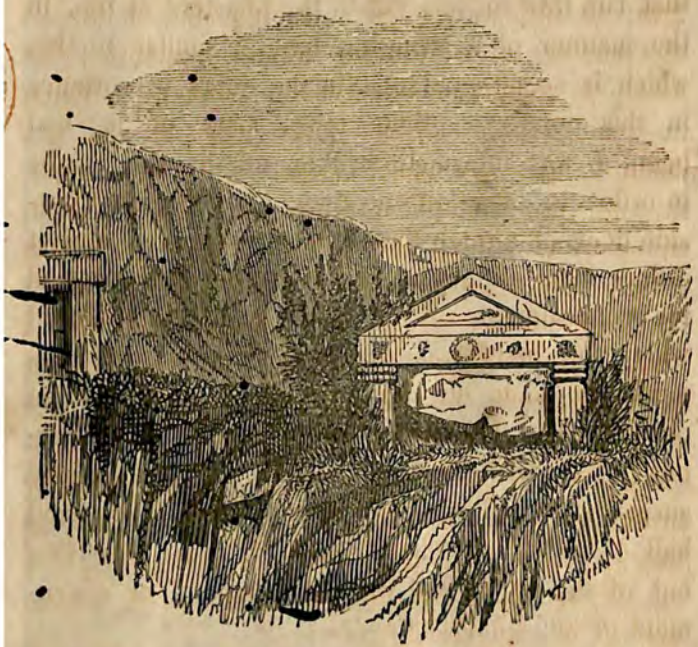
were in former years exported from Joppa to Europe. This tomb has been figured in the rare work of Sandys, who described it in 1610. The cupolas at top somewhat resembled those upon the Roman tomb represented by Montfaucon as erected over the Curiatii, at Albano. The dead continued to be interred in this vault up to the days of Maundrell, who says, "looking down through these holes we could see many bodies under several degrees of decay, from which it may be conjectured that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it, which is commonly reported." Some few bodies were also to be seen in it at the time of Dr. Richardson's visit, but their condition proved how little reliance was to be placed upon the boasted sarcophagous properties of the place. It is now in a state of complete dilapidation; one side is a ruin; the cupolas have been demolished; and its only occupants, when we visited it, were owls, bats, and cockroaches.

This tomb has been generally described as that which was bought with the blood-money, that was returned by Judas Iscariot. It is pointed out as such by the priests and guides, and the belief in its identity seems to have gained strength from its having been permitted to remain uncontradicted; and traveller after traveller has repeated the tale, till it is believed by all. But the architecture, the small stones of which it is built, and the very

mortar with which they are connected, all testify against the absurdity of this opinion; and prove that it cannot possibly be coeval with the Christian era. It is of a character totally different from all other eastern tombs, and the similarity in external appearance to the Roman, and in purpose to the Neapolitan, is very remarkable. A date, however, of three centuries later has been assigned to it by Sandys. "In the midst whereof," says he, when describing this field, "a large square room was made by the mother of Constantine; the south side walled with the natural rock, flat at top, and equal with the upper level, out of which rise certain little cupolas open in the midst to let down the dead bodies."

Having heard a rumour of a tomb that had been lately discovered and opened by the Arabs, in this vicinity, and it being reported that some human remains were found in it, I rode out one evening during our sojourn in Jerusalem, to examine the place, accompanied by two of my companions, Mr. W. Meiklam and Mr. Finlay. A little higher up in the cliff that rises from the cavern erected by the Roman empress, within the ground denominated Aceldama, and in the neighbourhood of the painted chambers, and that excavation called the tomb of Isaiah, some Arabs, when at work in the place, accidentally discovered the door-way of a tomb carved out of the solid rock, which had been concealed by a heap of rubbish, over which the soil

had accumulated so as to completely conceal the entrance. Such was the account given to me by credible witnesses in Jerusalem. This entrance at the time of our visit was still partly concealed by brambles, stones, and dirt, so that but one half of the doorway was visible, as in the annexed view.

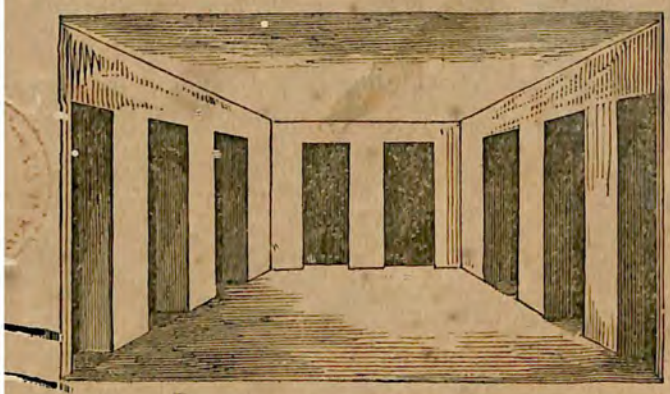


It represents a Doric pediment, supported by rude pilasters, with some remains of floral embellishments carved upon the architrave, such as I before noticed as being characteristic of Hebrew sculpture; the whole hewn out of the rock, from which it stands out in good relief, as exhibited in the above sketch, which I made upon the spot.

The most remarkable circumstance connected with this façade was its door, which struck me the moment I saw it, as being totally different from that of any other tomb that I had ever seen or read of, except one at Petra. It is formed of a single slab of stone, and moves on horizontal pivots that run into sockets cut in the pilasters at top, in the manner of a swinging hinge; similar to that which is sometimes seen in the doors of cottages in this country. The lower part of it had been, I was informed, broken off by the Arabs in order to effect an entrance. It is the only outside door of a tomb that I have ever seen, and it differs from all others in not having been formed for concealment, or for being completely closed when the body was deposited within; but was evidently made for the purpose of being opened occasionally. Having entered beneath this ponderous portal and lighted our candles, we were greatly surprised to find ourselves within a tolerably sized hall of an oblong shape, cut with great precision out of the rock, but without ornament or adornment of any kind whatever.

Curious to relate, the whole of this tomb afforded a most striking illustration of its appropriateness to describe the character of the self-righteous Scribes and Pharisees; and showed the forcible application of the language used by the Saviour when denouncing their hypocrisy; "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto whited

sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within are full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness."* At the end, and on either side of the hall a number of doors led into inner apartments, as shewn in the accompanying cut.



Each of these chambers was a small oblong crypt, about seven feet long; on either side of which was a trough or sarcophagus, hewn like all the rest of the tomb out of the solid rock, and raised about three feet from the floor, and in *all* of them were quantities of human bones lying without order or regularity, but in a state of most astonishing preservation. The edges of these troughs were in many places chipped and broken, as if from long use; and the white-wash had not only coated these parts, but had

* Matt. xxiii. 27. Dr. Shaw supposed that the whited sepulchres mentioned by our Lord were the same as the Mohammadan marabuts; but these I am inclined to believe are of a date more recent than the Christian era.

LIBRARY

PLATE

Fig. 1.

Fig. 3.

Dublin Published by William Curry & Co. 1st January 1840

PLATE 11

actually spotted several of the bones that lay low down in the bottoms of the troughs. These bones were piled in layers, and as each trough contained several, the whitewash must have been used subsequently to some of the bodies being placed within them. This whitewash (which is the only instance of the kind that has yet been discovered of that ancient Jewish custom,) was in a most extraordinary state of perfection; and, from the number of layers that could be seen, on picking it off the wall, it was evident that it had been frequently renewed. Such was the appearance that this tomb presented when we examined it; and such I was informed was its state when discovered.

But the most remarkable feature in this catacomb was, that each set of crypts, that is, those on the three different sides, contained the remains of *distinct* and *separate races of mankind*, as shewn by the skulls found in the trough of each.* Thus all the crypts upon the right-hand side contained crania of the same characters, shape, and appearance, as that represented in plate I. fig. 1; whereas all those upon the opposite, left-hand side, were of a shape the very reverse, as seen in plate II. fig. 4; and in the end or central compartments I found skulls totally different from either, and partaking,

* Could it have been a tomb of this description that is mentioned in Jeremiah, xxvi. 23, where the prophet says that Jehoiakim, when he slew Urijah, "cast his body into the *graves of the common people?*"

more or less, of the extraordinary form of that shown in fig. III. of plate 1. On this side of the apartment, however, the crania were more mixed, and not at all so decided as those in the two other sets of chambers that I have mentioned. But, although I searched with some care, I could not find a single instance of the skulls of one side being mixed up with those of the other; all were perfectly distinct and separated from each other. Now none of these curious heads belonged to the Jewish race, for not one single European or well-marked Caucasian head could I find among the numbers scattered in the chambers; and as all who did not belong to that family, must have been strangers in Jerusalem—and as these heads belonged to races of mankind, that we know did not inhabit Judea for the last two thousand years, they must have been foreigners; and this has led me to conjecture, that this tomb, which is situated in the acknowledged field of blood, may be one of those sepulchres of the *actual Aceldama* that was purchased by the priests "to bury strangers in."

Although aware of the danger that I incurred, and the uproar that it might occasion if discovered, I could not possibly resist the desire I felt to bring some of these curious skulls with me to Europe; knowing the interest that they would excite amongst those who have studied the physical history of the human species; even though they had not been discovered in the field of blood. So,

tying two of them in my handkerchief, and fastening it to the saddle, while I persuaded my enthusiastic friend, the baker, whom I before introduced to my readers, and who acted as our guide that evening, to carry two more of them for me beneath his beneesh; we in this way set forward to the city at sunset. I must confess that it was not without some feelings of trepidation that I passed the Mooslim guard, as I dashed through St. Stephen's gate, and galloping up the Via Dolorosa, safely gained the convent with my prize.

Let us now consider who those strangers may have been that are referred to in the inspired record, and briefly inquire, to what race of men these remarkable skulls belonged. To enter at all upon the disputed point as to the many varieties into which the human family may be divided, or to discuss the opinions that have been set forth as to their common origin—a question which to the present time occupies the attention of the most learned philosophers and physiologists—would take up more space in a narrative of travel than the limits and purpose of the present work permit, or than would be interesting to the general reader. It is sufficient that we adhere to the most acknowledged general principles that are received at the present day by those learned in the physical history of man. Nor would it in the slightest degree interfere with the end and purpose of the following inquiry, whether we adopted the arrangements

of Cuvier, Blumenbach, Lawrence, or Dr. Prichard, or examined these heads according to the rules of the facial angle of Camper, the vertical view of Blumenbach, or the more advisable plan of the general observation of the cranium by Prichard; the object being to know, if possible, to what races these heads belonged, and to what country they can be referred.

I may here remark, that this beautiful and most interesting subject of the physical history of the human race, has of late years become one of such general and popular inquiry, that I presume the readers of these pages are so far acquainted with its outlines, as to be able to go forward with me in this investigation, without any preliminary observations upon that branch of science. I may also add that, having had frequent communications with Dr. Prichard upon the subject of these heads, his opinions very nearly coincide with those which I had previously stated in writing to my esteemed friend, Professor Graves; and, lest it might be supposed that the former great authority was in any way biassed by a knowledge of *where* or under what circumstances these heads were procured, I can only say, that casts of the four skulls which I removed from this tomb, were forwarded to Dr. Prichard with a note from Professor Graves, requesting his opinion upon them, but giving no clue whatever as to the locality, or stating how, or in what place, they had been discovered.

Though there are some objections to it, yet for every useful object of this inquiry, the three great divisions of man into the Caucasian, Mongolian and Ethiopian, with the two intermediate varieties of the American, as the link between the first and second, and the Malay between the second and third, as adopted by the German school, will answer our purpose.

Although colour, language, religion, history, tradition, and antiquities, may be called in as auxiliaries, yet it is now universally admitted by the first authorities in this science, that to the form and character of the head can we alone refer in order to determine the varieties of man, either existing or extinct Thus says a distinguished writer:—"of all peculiarities in the form of the bony fabric, those of the skull are the most striking and distinguishing. It is in the head that we find the varieties most strongly characteristic of different races The characters of the countenance and the shape of the features depend chiefly on the configuration of the bones of the head."*

* A brief summary of some of the most prominent and distinguishing characteristics of each of these grand divisions, may illustrate our subsequent remarks.

First, the Caucasian or öoidal head, is of an oval shape, with high expanded forehead, great symmetry and beauty of outline, oval face, having the forehead, cheek-bones, and teeth all on the same plane, when the person stands erect. The zygomæ or bony arches in front of the ear are on the same plane as the temples or the side of the head; and a line dropt from the upper edge of the orbit falls *direct* upon the lower margin of the same cavity.

The Potter's field was bought to bury strangers in—but who were these strangers? I believe that those who were not Jews, were considered strangers in Jerusalem; and who they were, we learn from the Acts of the Apostles, which states, that

With this external configuration there is in general high intellectual endowment; and the features, colour of skin, hair, and complexion, are too well known in these countries to require description. Under this head, (though there are many shades of difference,) may be classed the great Iranian or Indo-Atlantic nations; including at the present day all the Europeans except the Finnish tribes of Lapland, and the Esquimaux; the south-western Asiatics; and those of the northern part of Africa, between the shores of the Mediterranean and the Atlas mountains—the different countries that have been peopled from Europe, particularly America: with the Jews, Bedawees, and high-cast Hindoos. And of the ancient nations, the Syrians and Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Chaldeans, ancient Egyptians, with the Guanches of the Canary, Archipelago, Celts, and Cimbri.

The Mongolian division have heads characterized by height and breadth, as compared with those already described; and the more strongly marked races of this variety have pyramidal heads, formed by the bases of two triangles meeting across the junction of the cheek bones and the zygomæ; facial angle is more retreating than the former, and there is extreme narrowness from before backwards. Confluent features; orbits large, deep, and set widely apart; a line dropped from the upper edge of the orbit falls *without* its lower; teeth somewhat projecting; and the zygoma is on a plane much more laterally extended than the temples or side of the head. The people of this race are smaller in stature than the Caucasian, have yellow or olive complexions; long, straight, and generally black hair, and rather scanty beard; the base of the head broad, flat, and short.

Under this class of heads come those nations denominated Turanian, including the extensive people of the Chinese, Japanese, and Siamese nations; and all the north-eastern Asiatics, particularly the Calmuc Tartars, Tungooses, and other nomadic tribes

on the day of Pentecost such strangers, immediately after the Aceldama was established, were assembled from different parts of the world in Jerusalem; and who, upon hearing of the descent

of Siberia; the Esquimaux, and Laplanders, with the inhabitants of Thibet, Monguls, and Burats: and although it is not quite so well determined, I think that we may also place the wandering tribes of Turcomans under this division.

The Ethiopian heads are characterised by extremely narrow and retiring foreheads; great depth of head from before backwards; flatness of the temporal regions; projecting muzzle and cheek bones; flattened zygomæ projecting laterally very little beyond the side of the head; teeth set at a small and outward angle with the jaws; a line dropped from the upper edge of the orbit, falls *within* its lower; general thickness and density of the bones of the head; features, those known under the name of negro; colour, from dark olive, to jet black; hair, short, thick, curled and woolly; beard, very scanty.

This form of head denominated Prognathous, is found in those large nations of negroes inhabiting central Africa, and the whole slave population of the world; except, perhaps, those negroes of Mozambique, who are characterised by high, though narrow and conical foreheads.

The American variety, intermediate between the Caucasian and Mongolian, partakes more of the traits and contour of the latter; having the peculiar conformation of cheek bones and pyramidal skull, characteristic of that race. This division includes all the Aborigines of the new world, and perhaps the Hottentots and Bushmen. The Malay—another intermediate race between the Mongolian and Ethiopian, but partaking more of the latter—are also known under the name of Papuas, and may be enumerated as the vast tribes inhabiting the Indian Archipelago, New Holland, New Zealand, the Aborigines of Australia, and some tribes of Southern Africa.

Those heads that are altered by artificial pressure and other mechanical means, could not be considered in the above brief sketch.

of the Holy Ghost, and that the apostles spoke in different languages, came together to witness the miraculous gifts. These strangers were Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene; and *strangers* of Rome, Proselytes, Cretes and Arabians.*

To which of these nations, and under which variety of the human species are we to refer the skuils found in the right-hand chambers of this tomb, as shown in the skull, plate I. fig. 1? Undoubtedly to the Ethiopian; and under that head may be classed the strangers from Egypt, Lybia, and perhaps Cyrene; for the Abyssinian and Ethiopian nations were included in the first, and of

* I am fully aware of the opinion of Adam Clarke, that *all* the people enumerated in Acts, ii. 9—11, were Jews; and that the "Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia; in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia; in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, *Jews* and *Proselytes*, Cretes and Arabians," were either Jews or Proselytes; but I confess that I do not see that such an inference can be drawn from this passage. If all these several nations were either Jews or Proselytes to the Hebrew faith, why should both the Jews and Proselytes be enumerated among them. We know that Jerusalem was at this time one of the great marts, as well as one of the greatest thoroughfares of the world; and besides, many of other nations came up to worship at the temple, and to fill the *courts of the Gentiles*, who were not purely Israelites; but, even supposing that these were Jewish proselytes, still they were strangers, and belonged to nations with heads differing in form from the

such was, in all probability, the eunuch of Candace. Lybia was a term among the Greeks to signify Africa generally.

A glance at the figure of this head, at once shows us to which class it belongs. Of this cranium Dr. Prichard writes to me, "I think, with you, that this skull is that of an African." Its characters are so well exhibited in the drawing, that I need not enumerate them, except to add that the alveolar process of the upper jaw, which ought to have projected more forward, has been accidentally broken off. The skull is one of great weight and density, and belonged to a person about the middle age.

The skull fig. 4. plate II. is one of those found in the left-hand chambers; and although it differs

Jewish, and if they were Jews it is more than probable that although they spoke the respective tongues of the different nations among whom they were scattered, yet they would, like Jews of the present day, understand Hebrew. But, even supposing that they were Jewish proselytes, still they were strangers, and must have belonged to separate tribes before their conversion, and consequently had skulls different in form from the Hebrew.

Regarding this miraculous gift of tongues, a friend has lately stated to me an opinion that certainly deserves attention. It is, that these people heard *a language* which they themselves understood, and which, though spoken by one person was equally intelligible to the whole multitude, and not that they were alternately addressed in the seventeen different tongues of those nations. The opinion is well worthy of consideration, and it in no way detracts from the character of the miracle, that each heard a different language from one speaker, as for instance, when they were addressed by Peter.

in some respects from the true Mongolian, yet under that variety it must be classed. Its most striking characters are its very remarkable narrowness in its longitudinal diameter, not only in contradistinction to the Ethiopian, which is characterised by extreme length, but in comparison with all other known crania. It has an uncommon breadth and flatness of the occipital or posterior region; and the very remarkable protuberance at the top of the head, gives this skull a place among those termed pyramidal.

Dr. P., who considered these heads some of the most extraordinary that he had ever seen, has stated that, in his opinion, they are of Turkish origin, and that they belonged to those tribes that possess more of the Mongolian form of skull; and on the whole he agrees with me as to the place that I have given them, that is, although not true Mongolian, yet that they approach nearer to that race than to any other. Altogether, I am of opinion that they may have belonged to some of the Turcoman tribes, that to this day wander in hordes over different parts of those countries, called by the ancient names of Parthia, Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, and Pamphylia, and extending in the form of a semicircle from the eastern extremity of Asia Minor, between the Mediterranean and the Euxine on the one hand, to the countries lying between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf on the other, and mingling with the Tartar or Kalmuc hordes that

extend to the north-east of the Black Sea beyond Mount Caucasus.

The Turks of the present day, it should be recollected, are not true Mongolians; for though descended from a race of Turcomans, yet now by intermarriage with the Georgian and Circassian females, the very purest and best marked of all Caucasians, they have lost the original configuration of head, except in the peculiarity of the protuberance at top, to which I before alluded. The base of this head, which is also remarkable for its great breadth and shortness, in a longitudinal direction, is seen in fig. 5, plate II.*

Lastly, the skulls found in the central apartments, one of which is exhibited at fig. 3, plate I. deserve our attention. This is one of the most remarkable that I have ever seen, and if it were the peculiar form of any race, as I see no reason to doubt, for there were numbers of the same kind in these cryptæ, that race is now either extinct, or is unknown to physiologists. This head, which was that of a very old person, appears to have belonged to a mixed variety, and inclines more to the European or Caucasian. Perhaps it may be classed among the Medes and Elamites, who resided in a country beyond the

* As an explanation of the minute anatomical peculiarities of these heads might not be interesting to the general reader, it will be found in the Appendix, together with a description of the modern Egyptian, fig. 2, plate VI. See Appendix C.

Tigris, and were the same, in all probability, as the modern Persians. This skull is remarkably light, and so thin as to be almost semitransparent; and it is curious to find that Herodotus mentions the extreme thinness of the Persian skulls in contradistinction to the Egyptian, which were particularly dense and thick.*

Finally, I may again add, that though I searched diligently, yet I could not find a single Jewish or well-marked Caucasian head. It may be objected to the hypothesis that these skulls belonged to the several nations that I have enumerated, that bones would not be preserved in so perfect a state for 1800 years; but the climate of Judea, and the peculiar construction of this tomb would prevent their decaying for a much longer period. I do not think that any antiquary can instance a rock-carved sepulchre such as this having been formed after the Christian era.

In a subsequent communication Dr. Prichard concludes his observation upon the skulls, by saying, "The information you give as to their locality is very curious, and the circumstance that strangers were probably buried there, accounts for the diversity in the forms of these skulls."

From all the concurrent circumstances connected with this tomb; its being situated on the site of the acknowledged Field of Blood; the appearance

* Herod. Thalia, xii.

of its external architecture, particularly its door, which differs from *all other* sepulchres that we have yet heard of, except that one at Petra, in being formed for occasional opening; from its curious internal hall and chambers; the remarkable human remains found in them, so perfectly different and distinct one from another; and these belonging to foreign nations, and not to Hebrews, I conceive that there is a strong probability, almost amounting to presumptive proof, that this sepulchre was one of those tombs, if not the actual one, purchased with the thirty pieces of silver, to bury strangers in, and from that circumstance receiving the name of ACELDAMA, OR FIELD OF BLOOD.

CHAPTER VIII.

PALESTINE.

The Jews—Their Character in Jerusalem—Number—Benjamin of Tudela—Means of Subsistence—Their Love for the City—Patriotism—Transportation of their bones—Their Language—Synagogues—Ancient Customs—Present State and Prospects—A Touching Scene—Hope—Lepers—Houses—Female Inhabitants—Their Amusements—Missionaries—The English Church—The Different Sects of Christians—The Latin Fathers—A Pharmacy—Greeks—Armenians—Their Convents—Door of the Holy Sepulchre—Copts—Their History and Customs—Effects of the Conscription—Abyssinians—Pool of Bethesda—Its remarkable Masonry—Tomb of David—A Pious Prince—A Navigator of the Dead Sea—Irishmen—Eastern Shepherds—Bethlehem—Its Beautiful Females—Convent—Place of the Nativity—Ethan—Solomon's Cisterns—Aqueduct—Visit to Bethany—Sepulchre of Lazarus—Return to Ramla—Sirocco—Climate of Palestine—An Adventure—How to catch a Mule—Reflections on the East—Its Wonders and present Prospects—Proceed to Europe.

THE Jews inhabit a particular portion of the southern part of the city, the Harat-el-Youd, between the foot of Sion and the enclosure of the Mosque of Omar, and are not the least interesting of the objects presented to the traveller in the Holy City. This extraordinary people, the favoured of the Lord, the descendants of the patriarchs and prophets, and the aristocracy of the earth, are to be seen in Jerusalem to greater

advantage, and under an aspect, and in a character totally different from that which they present in any other place on the face of the globe. In other countries the very name of Jew has associated with it cunning, deceit, usury, traffic, and often wealth. But here, in addition to the usual degradation and purchased suffering of a despised, stricken, outcast race, they bend under extreme poverty, and wear the aspect of a weeping and a mourning people; lamenting over their fallen greatness as a nation, and over the prostrate grandeur of their once proud city. Here the usurer is turned into the pilgrim, the merchant into the priest, and the inexorable creditor into the weeping suppliant. Without wealth, without traffic, they are supported solely by the voluntary contributions of their brethren throughout the world.

I think I am warranted in stating, that the number of Jews now in Jerusalem is greater than at any other period in modern times. The population of any eastern city is with great difficulty accurately ascertained, owing to the total absence of statistical or municipal tables, as well as to the immense floating population, hundreds arriving at night, and passing out in the morning; besides, here, the number of pilgrims varies daily. The entire *resident* population of the city is about 35,000; of which 10,000 are Jews, 10,000 Christians, 10,000 Mohammadans, and about 5,000 foreigners, or partial residents, including the garrison.

As a rough guess would but little approximate to the truth, and as many contradictory accounts have been published of the number of Jews resident in Jerusalem, I have used every means of procuring correct information on this subject. The Latins, and the Jewish Rabbis themselves, whom I severally consulted, both agreed in stating, that the number is greater now than at any other period in latter times of which they have any record, and that at the lowest calculation it amounted to the number I have stated.

The period is not very distant when the Turkish law permitted no more than 300 Jews to reside within the walls. The celebrated Jewish historian, Benjamin of Tudela, gives a lamentable account of the state of the Jews in Palestine about the middle of the 12th century; and "we may safely select," says Milman, in his history of the Jews, "his humiliating account of the few brethren who still clung, in poverty and meanness, to their native land. There is an air of sad truth about the statement which seems to indicate some better information on this subject than on others. In Tyre, Benjamin is said to have found 400 Jews, glass-blowers. The Samaritans still occupied Sichem, but in Jerusalem there were only 200 descendants of Abraham, almost all dyers of wool, who had bought a monopoly of that trade. Ascalon contained 153 Jews; Tiberias, the seat of learning and of the

kingly patriarchate, but 50. This account of Benjamin is confirmed by the unfrequent mention of the Jews in the histories of the later crusades in the Holy Land, and may, perhaps be ascribed in great measure to the devastations committed in the first of these depopulating expeditions." A vast concourse of this people flocked to Jerusalem at the time that Syria was occupied by the Egyptians; and afterwards on the conquest of Algiers. Within these two or three years, however, the extreme scarcity of provisions has deterred others from going there, and the number has not been so great as heretofore.

A partial famine was making itself felt among the Jews at the time of our visit, in consequence of the remittances for their support not having arrived punctually. Nor are those who, in the first instance, receive these remittances, free from the strong suspicion of withholding a part for their own private uses. Bread, all kinds of provisions, and even water, were becoming scarce and dear, owing to the increased population within the walls, and the decrease of agricultural population without, to cultivate the soil, and raise the necessaries of life. This decrease arises from the impolitic conscription carried on in this thinly populated country to augment the army of the Basha; and great fears of famine, and its horrors, were entertained. Many poor Jews were then beginning to suffer from hunger, and both they and the

Mooslims were, during our stay, observing a solemn fast, and praying for rain to descend on this thirsty land, whose wheat crops were withering for lack of moisture.* The army of Ibrahim Basha was entirely supplied with foreign corn.

With all this accumulated misery; with all this insult and scorn heaped upon the Israelite here, more even than in any other country; why, it will be asked, does he not fly to other and happier lands? Why does he seek to rest under the shadow of Jerusalem's wall?

Independently of that natural love of country which exists among this people, two objects bring the Jew to Jerusalem; to study the Scriptures and the Talmud—and then to die, and have his bones laid with his forefathers in the valley of Jehosaphat, even as the bones of the patriarchs were carried up out of Egypt. No matter what the station or the rank; no matter what, or how far distant the country where the Jew resides, he still lives upon the hope that he will one day journey Zion-ward. No clime can change; no season quench, that patriotic ardour with which the Jew beholds Jerusalem, even through the vista of a long futurity. On his first approach to the city, while yet within a day's journey, he puts on his best apparel; and when the first view of it bursts upon his sight, he rends his garments, falls down to

* The late accounts from Syria have happily not confirmed the fears of scarcity that were then entertained.

weep and pray over the long-sought object of his pilgrimage; and with dust sprinkled on his head, he enters the city of his forefathers. No child ever returned home after long absence with more yearnings of affection; no proud baron ever beheld his ancestral towers and lordly halls, when they had become another's, with greater sorrow than the poor Jew when he first beholds Jerusalem. This, at least, is patriotism.

"It is curious," says the learned author, from whom I have already quoted, "after surveying this almost total desertion of Palestine, to read the indications of fond attachment to its very air and soil, scattered about in the Jewish writings; still, it is said, that man is esteemed most blessed, who, even after his death, shall reach the land of Palestine, and be buried there, or even shall have his ashes sprinkled by a handful of its sacred dust.' 'The air of the land of Israel,' says one, 'makes a man wise;' another writes, 'he who walks four cubits in the land of Israel is sure of being a son of the life to come.' 'The great Wise Men are wont to kiss the borders of the Holy Land, to *embrace its ruins*, and roll themselves in its dust.' 'The sins of all those are forgiven who inhabit the land of Israel.' He who is buried there is reconciled with God, as though he were buried under the altar. The dead buried in the land of Canaan first come to life in the days of the Messiah."*

* The History of the Jews, vol. iii. p. 295–6.

It is worthy of remark, as stated by Sandys, that so strong is the desire this singular people have always manifested for being buried within these sacred limits, that in the seventeenth century large quantities of their bones were yearly sent thither from all parts of the world for the purpose of being interred in the valley of Jehosaphat; for the Turkish rulers at that time permitted but a very small number of Jews even to enter Palestine. Sandys saw shiploads of this melancholy freight at Joppa; and the valley of Jehosaphat is literally paved with Jewish tombstones.

"Samaria! thou art still my home,
And thou ere long shalt be my grave:
I know it—yet to thee I'll roam,
There let me sleep, where sleep the brave.
And if there lie o'er them and me
A waste, and not a flower-decked sod;
So let it be!—so let it be!
If but the spirit rest with God."

In Jerusalem alone, of any place upon the earth, is the Hebrew spoken as a conversational language; for, although the Scriptures are read, and the religious rites performed in Hebrew in the various countries in which the Jews are scattered; yet they speak the language of the nations among whom they are located. And as the last link of that chain which binds them to home and to happiness, they, like other oppressed nations, cling to it with rapturous delight. And it is the only door, by which the missionary there has access

to the Jew; for they have themselves said to me, "We cannot resist the holy language."

Most of the Jews are learned; and many spend the principal part of their time in studying the Scriptures, or the Talmud; while others are engaged in discussing the law, and disputing in the synagogues, or in weeping over Jerusalem. They are particularly courteous to strangers; and seem anxious to cultivate intercourse with Franks.

One morning while inquiring about some medicine at the shop of a poor Jew, I was accosted by a venerable Rabbi in English, who invited me to see their new synagogue, of which they are now very proud, inasmuch as it is built on a piece of ground lately restored to them by Mohammad Alee, after a judicial investigation of their right; and after having been withheld from them for upwards of two centuries. It was covered with heaps of rubbish and old ruined houses; and it is curious that in excavating among them, they found the remains of some very old arches and pillars, which they strongly affirm were portions of a synagogue in days gone by. They were clearing these away at the time of our visit; and some tolerable houses and baths were also being built upon the spot. The altar or holy place, in which are kept some ancient manuscripts of the Pentateuch on parchment rolls, was adorned by representations of the different musical instruments mentioned in Scripture, as the harp, sackbut, psaltery, &c. belonging to Hebrew melody. A com-

partment was railed off on the left hand for the females.

When I entered the Synagogue I found a number of old men seated at tables, the greater part of whom were reading the Talmud, and some few the Scriptures. All who were so engaged, had small square black boxes, of about two inches diameter, strapped upon their foreheads, which, on inquiry, I was told were the "frontlets" that the Jews were directed to bind between their eyes; others had similar ornaments strapped on the left arm;* each containing a verse of Scripture. Several of these Jews were standing in groups, discussing and disputing about the law. They reminded me of the Doctors in the days of our Lord, when similar scenes may have taken place, even on this very spot. There is a tolerable library attached to the place where the young men are instructed in the Talmud, the books of Moses, and the mysteries of the Jewish religion, in order to prepare such as are intended for the priesthood; these are the only persons who leave Jerusalem. The greater number met with in the streets are of the priestly order, marked by their tall black caps, with a gray and white band of muslin bound round them.

Heretofore both Jews and Christians, but especially the former, were prohibited from repairing any of their places of worship; the permission now

* Deuteronomy, vi. 8.

granted them speaks well for the mildness of the government of Mohammad Alee. Indeed, that persecution, which has ever since Jerusalem's fall, been the birthright of the Jew, has been very much mitigated in Palestine, since the assumption of the government by the Egyptian ruler. Nay, I do believe that at no period, since Titus led them captive to grace his triumphal entry into Rome, was their condition ever so meliorated, or have they enjoyed so many immunities, as under Mohammad Alee. Nor can tradition or historic record show so great a number of Jews, and so secure from persecution, residing in Jerusalem. Many say that this is but a cunning policy, to make a show of liberality. But, by whom do kings reign? is a question never asked. Their becoming possessed of this synagogue and the portion of ground around it, after so many years, reminded me of Jeremiah's purchase of the lands of Hanameel, and hiding the bond in order to enjoy it after the captivity. This is the more remarkable, as for many years the Jew was not allowed to possess a single rood of the soil of his forefathers.

The male part of this people are exceedingly handsome; but I must acknowledge that those Jewesses whom I met in Jerusalem were not as beautiful as those I have seen elsewhere. Many of them had light complexions, which, with the highly marked and prominent features of the Hebrew

countenance, is by no means pleasing. Here they do not wear the yashmac or face-cover.

A well-known Jewish convert, who, for political reasons, was some time since denied admission into Egypt, has been pleased to suppose that Mohammad Alee may be the "cruel lord" spoken of in Isaiah, although he is one of those who believe that the restoration of the Israelites is nigh at hand. It should be remembered, however, that Egypt is to be the high-way for the return of the people of the Lord; and do we not see this fulfilling daily, by the mild treatment exercised by this Egyptian ruler towards the Hebrews?

This very remarkable increase of the Jews in Palestine, and particularly in the city of Jerusalem, must strike even those who do not look upon it as a literal fulfilment of prophecy. Great and mighty events must, however, come to pass ere their restoration is accomplished; but though "the times and the seasons knoweth no man;" yet the day *shall* come when, to use the metaphoric language of the east, those broken pillars, the prostrate columns and ornamental capitals of that noble edifice that once reared its head within that land shall be raked from out the *debris* of a world where they are now scattered and trodden under foot, to deck the polished corners of that gem-studded temple that shall once more crown the hills of Salem.

The very wars and rumours of wars at present

throughout the world tell us that we are on the eve of great events, and that the redemption of Judah draweth nigh. The flapping wings and soaring flight of

"The dark banner'd eagle, the Muscovite's glory,"

before she stoops upon her quarry, are already heard speaking in accents that cannot be mistaken. Come those sounds for nought, or are they the distant murmur of those northern powers, whose part in that drama is so plainly spoken of by the inspired heralds of prophetic Scripture?

But of all the phases under which the Jews can be seen, the most deeply interesting is that exhibited, when they collect to weep over those stones of Jerusalem, that I have already described as belonging to the ancient city, and situated in the western wall of the court of the temple.

One day during my stay, the whole congregation met upon the anniversary of the great earthquake at Saphet, where so many of their brethren were destroyed. It was a touching sight, and one that years will not efface, to witness this mourning group, and hear them singing the songs of David, in the full expressive language in which they were written, beneath Mount Sion, on which they were composed—and before those very walls, that in other times rang with the same swelling chorus. But not now are heard the joyous tones of old; for here every note was swollen with a sigh, or broken

with a sob—the sighs of Judah's mourning maidens, the sobs and smothered groans of the patriarchs of Israel. And that heart must indeed be sadly out of tune, whose chords would not vibrate to the thrilling strains of Hebrew song, when chanted by the sons and daughters of Abraham, in their native city. Much as they venerate the very stones that now form the walls of this enclosure, they dare not set foot within its precincts; for the crescent of the Mooslim is glittering from the minaret, and the blood-red banner of Mohammad is waving over their heads.

Were I asked what was the object of the greatest interest that I had seen, and the scene that made the deepest impression upon me, during my sojourn in other lands, I would say, that it was a Jew mourning over the stones of Jerusalem. And what principle, what feeling is it, it may be asked, that can thus keep the Hebrew, through so many centuries, still yearning towards his native city—still looking forward to his restoration, and the coming of Messiah? Hope. Hope is the principle that supports the Israelite through all his sufferings—with oppression for his inheritance; sorrow and sadness for his certain lot; the constant fear of trials, bodily pain, and mental anguish; years of disgrace, and a life of misery; without a country and without a home; scorned, robbed, insulted, and reviled; the power of man, and even death itself cannot obliterate that feeling. It is hope that binds

the laurel on the warrior's brow; that leads the soldier on to conquest, and bids him face the battle's dread array; that, pointing to the enjoyment of earthly honour and greatness in time, cheers man amidst every discouragement he may have to encounter, and leads him to overcome every difficulty and obstacle for their attainment; and, when elevated and directed to higher objects by the influence of religion, gives him the cheering prospect of happiness in eternity. It is the very life-boat of our existence—the oil that calms that sea of trouble, on which man launches at his birth. What would the poor despised Jew be—what would man be without its cheering influence? yes, though clouds of doubt and mists of uncertainty may hover round, and for a while obscure our horizon, it is hope can

> "Smile those clouds away,—
> And paint the morrow with prophetic ray."

Independent of the death-like stillness that prevails without the city, as we remarked upon first approaching it, there is a stillness and solitude within its walls, that could hardly be imagined in a place containing so many thousand souls. This may arise from the inhabitants not being engaged in manufacturing or commercial pursuits; for, except those things absolutely requisite for supplying the common necessities of the population, there

is little bought or sold in Jerusalem; and consequently the bustle of traffic and the busy hum of men are never heard within its streets. As religious worship in some form or another is the object for which the greater number of the inhabitants have come to Jerusalem, they make it the daily business of their lives; and so much respect do the Mooslims pay to their Sabbath, that the city gates are always closed during the hours of prayer, and no inducement could prevail upon the officer of the guard to open them for us one day that we wished to go out, until their services were concluded.

That portion of the town that encloses a part of the brow of Sion, is almost a waste; sunk in pitfalls or thrown up into mounds by ruined buildings, and overgrown with weeds and enormous cacti. This sacred spot is now the district allotted to the lepers, great numbers of whom are constantly met near the Sion gate, or seated by the road side among the nopals. These wretched people are most disgusting objects, and some of them exhibited the worst cases of this dreadful malady that I ever beheld; many had lost fingers, toes, noses,—nay, whole hands and feet; and several were absolutely white as snow, from the peculiar scaly appearance that some forms of this disease had assumed. It is high time that the rulers of the countries where leprosy exists should exert themselves to prevent its extension, by providing a separate asylum for these unhappy beings; instead of allowing them to con-

gregate in small communities, where the disease is sure to be propagated and perpetuated.

The streets of Jerusalem are narrow, ill-paved, and generally very dirty, particularly in the Jewish quarter. The sides of the houses fronting the streets, are little better than dead walls, with a few small latticed windows.* The roofs of nearly all the houses are domed and white-washed, and around these are flat terraces; the whole covered with cement, and surrounded by a parapet wall, about breast high.† The house-tops are the constant retreats of the people, and many of them are covered with awnings. Portions of the parapet walls are curiously constructed of small cylinders of red crockery ware, piled up in a pyramidal form, and forming a kind of open work, that allows the air to blow through, and produces a most refreshing current. The inhabitants say, this construction has also the effect of preserving the wall from being blown down by the many sudden squalls and tempests common to this country at particular seasons. Besides this, it is useful in permitting the ladies to observe, unseen, what is going forward in the neighbourhood, all the Christian females in Judea being just as chary of their fair faces as the Ismalians.

According to our notions of social and domestic enjoyment, nothing can be more cruel, dreary, and unnatural, than the enslaved condition

* Judg. v. 28. Canticle, ii. 9. † Deut. xxii. 8.

in which the women of the East, and particularly those in Jerusalem, are held. The chief amusement of many of them seems to be, mourning over the tombs of their departed lords; but I have occasionally observed others partaking of that agreeable imitation of the motion, productive of sea-sickness, called "swing-swang;" and whole hareems turn out to partake of this pastime, among the olive groves near the Bab-el-shem. During the play, the ladies chant a low chorus; and the person who is swung, utters a shrill but not unpleasing cry, as she rises in the air.*

The face-cover of these ladies is not the boo'rcko of the Egyptian females, but the yashmac, similar to that worn at Constantinople. It consists of a white muslin handkerchief, drawn tight round the lower part of the face, immediately beneath the nose, and fastened at the back of the head, thereby exposing more of the face than is usual among Eastern ladies. From its continued pressure against the end of the nose, it has produced a general protuberance of that organ, by no means pleasing. If intense white, with a slight tinge of pink upon the cheek, can be called beauty, these ladies possess it; but among the Mooslim belles, it is size, not colour or the form of their features, that constitutes that envied appellation, expressed in one

* Swinging has been a very old and favourite amusement among Eastern ladies. See the Arabic Tales of Inatulla.

word, *dumpiness*. The Armenian females dress like the Turkish, and resemble them very much in appearance.

Besides the bath, one of the few excuses that an eastern dame has for leaving the hareem, is to visit the tombs of deceased relatives. Most of the Mooslim tombs about the city have the round stele or head-stone carved at top into the form of a palmetto leaf, or a number of grooves radiating from the centre. This is said to be for the purpose of catching the plenteous tears of the widows who resort there to weep over their husbands. In this respect they bear some analogy to the ancient lacrymatories mentioned by the Psalmist; but, though I examined numbers, I was never able to discover any of this precious fluid.

A Mohammadan graveyard is never a scene of interest; and although many resort to it from a more unworthy motive than that of mourning, yet I have seen others around these tombs, the outpouring of whose sorrow told of withered hopes and blighted happiness that no affectation could produce. How much greater reverence and respect is paid to the remains of the dead in the east than in our own country. The oriental looks forward to visiting the tomb of a friend for days and even years to come; and every thing about it is kept clean, neat, and elegant. Rows of tall cypresses shade the snow-white marble, interspersed with flowers and grass plots. At night small twinkling lamps are hung in the different

sepulchres, and the Bulbul's song fills up the intervals of female lamentation.

In our own country a graveyard is seldom or never visited by the relatives of the deceased, who daily pass its walls unmoved; while within it is generally the most slovenly and unsightly spot in the vicinity. The rankest nettles grow upon the graves, till the sexton asks why the tenant cumbereth the ground, and upturns the ashes of the philosopher to make room for the body of the fool; and the green lichen soon creeps over the proud monument of the noble to tell that even his memory is forgotten. But a truce to reflection. In the burial ground to which I have referred there were hundreds of Turkish women showing, by the very position they assumed at the grave, how long ancient customs are preserved in the east. Sitting upon the ground is the posture of grief in that country. When the Israelites hung their harps by Babel's stream they sat down and wept; and this attitude of mourning is frequently alluded to in other parts of Scripture.* It is that adopted by the modern Hebrews who go to mourn over the stones of Jerusalem; and so characteristic is it of sorrow, that it was made by the Romans the emblem of their captivity, when—

"Lone Judea wept beneath her palm."

* See 1 Kings, xiii. 30; 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; Jer. ix. 17–20; Amos, v. 16.

This is also the attitude in which the lower order of Irish women sing the *keenan* over the graves of their friends at the present day; and in Ireland we find a similarity of custom to the eastern in the hired criers at wakes and funerals.

Connected with the Jews, I must now say a few words upon the different religious sects, and the English and American missionaries in Jerusalem. I was not long in the holy city until I found my way to the residence of the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson, the Jewish missionary, and was received by him and his family with the greatest kindness and affection. Their dwelling is on the side of Mount Sion, in rather an unfrequented quarter of the town, and nearly opposite David's castle. In the evenings, after the fatigues of the day, in attending processions, or exploring ancient remains, it was indeed a comfort to sit and enjoy an hour's conversation with that interesting family; to talk about the land that we had left, or consider the state and prospects of that in which we sojourned; and then to close the day with the service of our holy religion, and to hear the Scriptures read and expounded within the walls of Salem, and on the side of Sion, was indeed a privilege. In Mrs. Nicolayson I found a countrywoman, and, though I had not the pleasure of meeting her before my visit to Jerusalem, yet we were acquainted with so many mutual friends in our native land, that we very soon cast off the reserve that generally follows a first introduction; if,

indeed, the Irish ever require such inducements to become intimate in foreign countries. I shall long remember with delight and gratitude the happy evenings I spent under their roof.

Missionary labour must ever proceed slowly among the Jews in Jerusalem. And although I do not see that Scripture warrants the belief that the Israelites will be converted as a nation till after their restoration; yet some have come out and embraced Christianity in despite of the persecution which they knew awaited them from their brethren. For my own part, I only wonder that a Jew resident in Jerusalem ever becomes a Christian; for, perhaps, in no other place upon the globe is Christianity presented to him in a more *unchristian* spirit; the character and conduct of those who generally profess it is neither calculated to gain his confidence nor respect. Indeed both Jew and Mohammadan can justly point to the different religious sects, and ask is this your religion? is this the creed you would have us to adopt? I am sure that if any of my enlightened Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen were to witness the scenes, and to know the real state of Christianity among those persons belonging to their church in Jerusalem, they would blush for their superstitious practices and be ashamed to acknowledge them as fellow worshippers.

The erection of the Hebrew church, in which the service of the church of England is to be celebrated in the Hebrew tongue, will, I trust, under the

Almighty's blessing, work much good. The Jewish Society have reason to rejoice in being privileged to commence such a work; it is an undertaking worthy the high cause in which they are engaged. The Hebrew language in which the service will be read, and the Scriptures expounded, together with the simplicity of our liturgy will form a striking contrast to the mockery and impious miracle-mongering handicraft that the Jew has been heretofore told was Christianity; and will doubtless attract many of that people to attend the services of our holy religion, and lead them to believe in that Saviour whom their fathers crucified and they still reject.

Considerable delay has, no doubt, taken place in its erection; but great difficulty was experienced, first in procuring the ground, and subsequently in conveying the necessary materials from Jaffa, as no timber of sufficient size for such a building grows in Judea at present. The ground which has been purchased for the purpose is just beside the missionary residence on the side of Sion; and I have marked it in the map as near the site as the want of the necessary instruments enabled me to do.*

Some idea may be formed, of the prejudices

* The papers of the 19th December contain the following intelligence as to this church:—"We received last night a letter from our correspondent at Constantinople, dated Nov. 20, which states that Mahomet Ali had granted a firman to the society for the conversion of the Jews, for building a Protestant church in the city of Jerusalem, but that the *Porte* has not thought fit to ratify that firman."

that exist among the Osmanlies as to the right of Christians of any denomination occupying any of the sacred soil in or around the holy city, and of the obstacles that lay in the way of this purchase, when I state, that the American missionaries were refused permission to enclose a small plot of ground outside the walls for a family burial place, because the shadow of the minaret of the mosque that covers the tomb of David fell upon the spot at sunset!

To preach with effect, or indeed at all to gain access to the Hebrews upon religious subjects, the missionary must be not only well acquainted with their language and peculiar opinions, but also versed in their laws, traditions, Targums, and Talmuds; for the Israelites in Jerusalem are generally a learned people, and spend their time in discoursing upon these subjects. I know no man possessing the requisite qualifications for this office in a higher degree than Mr. Nicolayson, who is, indeed, eminently fitted for the holy work in which he is engaged.

The labours of the American missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. Thompson and Whiting, are more among the general Christian population of the city; and not only to the high character of these gentlemen in particular, but to that of the Western missionaries generally throughout the east, I must bear most ample testimony both as to their zeal and usefulness; particularly in the establishment of

schools. But this subject I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.

Since our visit to Jerusalem, two events have occurred there, worthy of the attention of the religious world, and of all who desire the restoration of the kingdom of Judah. The first of these, insignificant as it may appear to some, yet even in a political point of view, of vast importance to others, is the establishment of a British Consul in the holy city. This may in truth be hailed by all who have the interest of Jerusalem at heart, as a work bright with promise, and will, it is to be hoped, be one of enduring benefit. Soon, I trust, will our trans-Atlantic brethren send their stars and stripes to flutter in amity beside that banner which has so long braved the battle and the breeze, and now floats as the protective emblem of our nation from the walls of Jerusalem. He is the first, and as yet the only authorised Christian representative, since the Crusaders were driven from its battlements.

The second interesting and important event that has taken place is that of the deputation sent out by the church of Scotland, consisting of Dr. Keith and other eminent ministers of that church, to inquire into the state of the Jewish people in Jerusalem; and not only may we anticipate most valuable information as the result of their investigations, but it is cheering—though but in accordance with the spirit of the times—to see the interest that is felt and increasing through-

out the whole Christian world in behalf of the scattered seed of Abraham.

In addition to the Jews and Mohammadans that inhabit Palestine, some of whom may be always found in Jerusalem, the several religious sects may be divided into Latins or Roman Catholics, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Maronites and Abyssinians, native Christian Arabs, Syrian Christians who dissent from some of the tenets of all the preceding sects, Druses and Metouailes. Most of these denominations may be recognised by the peculiarities of their dress. That of the Latins is a simple brown habit, girt with a white knotted cord round the waist, from which hangs a rosary and crucifix. Their heads are shaven at the back part only, and they, as well as all the friars in the holy city, wear their beards long; a small black skull cap barely covers the crown of the head; a hood is attached to the collar of the dress which hangs down behind, but can be worn up in wet weather; and rude sandals clothe the feet. Notwithstanding all their privations, fasting, and want of necessary comforts, many of the monks were as fat and portly as aldermen. Seven years is the period they are required to spend in Palestine; and during this time they visit most of the convents and holy places; but heartily do they wish for the completion of their penance, (for such it is to many,) and long to return to the sunny shores of Spain or Italy.

Their convent is an immense establishment, and its

roof commands one of the most splendid views of the city. The number of monks there at the period of our visit was but forty-five, who were a mixture of Spaniards and Italians.

Not the least interesting, and decidedly the most curious part of the building is the pharmacy, to which we were invited by the father who presided over the compounding department, a sprightly, intelligent, and loquacious Andalusian, who took great delight in displaying to us his array of bottles, jars, and pill-boxes, remarking as he went along upon the sanative efficacy of each, and the miraculous cures they had effected. The laboratory was a perfect curiosity, and such as I dare say could not be found at present in Europe. Retorts, alembics, and other chemical instruments of the antique fashion used in the halcyon mystifying days of alchemy and astrology, &c., such as no doubt were often used by the professor of the times of the first Crusades to search for the philosopher's stone or the elixir of life. With these were mingled the relics of sundry skeletons—awful looking chirurgical instruments—grim monsters and musty specimens in natural history:

> "A tortoise hung,
> An alligator stuffed, and other skins
> Of ill-shaped fishes,"

with divers amulets and charms. All these, together with the dark gloomy vaulted chamber and its

ancient furniture, afforded a strong contrast to the laboratory of modern times, worked by steam and lighted up with gas. The stock of medicines was, however very good;* and as some of the brethren devote themselves to the study of medicine, and do much to alleviate the diseased of all classes and persuasions, it is really a most valuable establishment in that country; although the knowledge of those persons in medicine and surgery is just in that state in which we received it from the monks about three centuries ago.

Another singular part of this monastical establishment is the warehouse, to which it is expected that all travellers will pay a visit and purchase some of the sacred merchandise it contains. Were I to detail the vast quantities of amulets and beads, the tons weight of mother-of-pearl ornaments, and the stores of crosses of every shape and size that we saw in these apartments, I fear my readers might say I was exceeding even a traveller's license. We were truly astonished at this immense stock of holy

* I procured some good specimens of scammony from the Medicus of the convent; and received much valuable information regarding its culture and manufacture. Aleppo and Damascus are still the great marts of this valuable drug, though it grows all over Palestine, and particularly well about Bethlehem. The trade is still in the hands of the Jews, who purchase it from the Arabs; and I have good reason to believe that very little of it finds its way into this country, unadulterated with clay and resin. The price in Jerusalem is six piasters, not quite 1s. 6d. an ounce. This is worth inquiring into by our druggists.

ware. There are upwards of 700 men engaged in one branch of these manufactures at Bethlehem, and several thousand pounds worth of this trumpery are yearly forwarded to Europe, having been first sanctified and endowed with peculiar virtue, it is said, by being rubbed upon the holy sepulchre, hearing mass in the Latin church, and being blessed by the Superior of the convent; I hope, for the sake of those that put faith in such wares, that they all may enjoy these advantages.

The Greeks are the most numerous of any of the sects of Christians in Jerusalem, and enjoy a larger share of Turkish patronage, as well as a greater number of holy places, than the others. Some time ago, however, their convent was in rather distressed circumstances, and the monks were obliged to pawn their plate and decorations to a Jew, one of the few rich ones in the city. I understood that this person was also the creditor of a late illustrious lady, whose case was but a short time since before the English public. This man of money claims to be a subject of the British crown; and when one of our consul-generals visited the city a few years ago, a most extraordinary scene took place in the hospice of the Latin convent; the box, containing the pawned articles, was unsealed in his presence, and its valuable contents actually put up to auction; but, as there were no bidders, the ornaments were replaced, and still remain in the possession of the Hebrew. Notwith-

standing the loss of these ornaments, the dresses of the Greek ecclesiastics are still very splendid.

The Armenians make a much greater show and display in their worship than any of the other sects. Their chapel, which is within the holy enclosure, is situated in the gallery to the right of the Sepulchre, and the furniture and decorations of the altar, and the costume of the priests, are superb. When we visited their chapel, the bishop was sitting in state in front of the altar, dressed in the most costly robes; having on his head a mitre shaped like the papal crown, of great brilliancy, studded with the most valuable and precious stones; and holding in his hand a crozier of exceeding beauty and of great value. This sect do not use bells in their worship; but in lieu of them they shake a small silver cymbal, fastened to the end of a stick; as the signal for the different prostrations. On the morning of our visit, the service was chanted in Persian. Their music is not quite so inharmonious as that of the Greeks.

Their convent is an immense pile of buildings, with spacious courts, and extensive gardens attached to it; in which are generally to be seen groups of pilgrims seated round fires, cooking their meals, and giving to the place the appearance of a caravansary. The chapel attached to this convent has for many years attracted the attention of travellers, chiefly on account of the beauty and exquisite workmanship of some of the side altars; the doors of which are

inlaid with tortoise-shell, ivory, and mother of pearl set in silver. In some of the small chapels are a few old and very beautiful manuscript copies of the Scriptures. A large curtain hangs before the principal altar, having on it a wretched painting of a ship, and a sea view. The whole is a sorry daub, with perspective in Chinese style, and so ill does it accord with the splendour of the other parts of the edifice, that I should not have noticed it, but for the curious fact, that the English ensign is represented flying from the main mast of the vessel. Why, or wherefore, this device had been adopted, I could not learn; possibly it may have been the handiwork of some British sailor. The females sat apart in the chapel, and had their faces enveloped in white muslin handkerchiefs like the Osmanlees, whom they very much resemble in appearance.

Altogether, the Armenians are a very interesting people; they are less bigoted to their own religious opinions, more liberal to those of others, and less adverse to the reading and circulation of the Bible, than any of the other sects, and they are particularly courteous to strangers. The dress of the priests is blue; and instead of a turban or a small skull cap, they wear a high crowned black hat, which spreads out at top.

They also possess another convent, which stands on the summit of Sion, outside the gates, and they assert it contains the real stone that closed the mouth

of the Holy Sepulchre. The exterior of this building is highly characteristic of the late disturbed state of Judea, and of the defensive attitude that all the exposed monastical establishments were obliged to maintain, in order to repel the attacks of the Arabs, who were not only constantly on the watch for an opportunity to rush in and rob the convents, but sometimes came in strong parties, and tried to force an entrance. There are no windows, and no aperture of any kind in the outer wall, except the small, low, and iron-studded door, which is of vast strength. On the top of the parapet, was piled a wall of loose stones, of about three feet high, in order to prevent the scaling ladders of the enemy from catching on the solid masonry, as well as to hurl down upon the besiegers.

Within, we found the tombs of the several patriarchs of that church, who have died in Jerusalem; and on the left is shown a small plain chapel, adorned with Dutch tiles, like the churches in Portugal. The stone which they assert to have closed the door of the sepulchre in which our Saviour was laid, forms the altar; and it also is covered with pottery ware, except at the ends, and on the back part, where the naked rock is exhibited, to receive the devout kisses of the pilgrims; of late, however, its peculiar sanctity has been very much on the wane, and it is now almost neglected. I believe that Maundrell was deceived when he stated that this stone had formerly occupied a place in the church

of the sepulchre, and was stolen from thence by the Armenians, a few years before he visited Jerusalem. This story has now become current among travellers. Sandys, who visited the place eighty-seven years before, speaks of this very stone, but does not mention the theft, which if it had occurred, would naturally have been fresher in the minds of the people then, than at the period when Maundrell visited the place. It is impossible that it could have been used as a door to the tomb of Christ, for it is seven feet five inches long, by three feet five inches in depth and breadth. In short, though the tradition about it is, no doubt, very old, yet it is an Armenian *opposition shop*.

The Maronites,* and other Christian sects that inhabit Palestine, and occasionally visit the Holy City, are so few in number, that they scarcely deserve any particular notice. But the Copts cannot be passed in silence.

Perhaps there is no other people in existence that deserve a more attentive inquiry into their history and physical character, than the Copts;

* The following circumstance was related to me in Judea upon good authority:—Some of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon having lately (for certain political purposes) put themselves under the dominion of the pope, the priests conditioned that they were not to say mass in Latin, as none of them had learned that language—the stipulation on the part of the See of Rome was, that as they could not speak Latin, they should read the service in ancient Syriac, an *unknown tongue* to the people who heard them!

because of no other nation, possessing such claims on our attention, from their origin, descent, or present condition, do we know less. The passing traveller is less likely to gain any accurate knowledge of the religion, customs, or domestic manners of this sect, than of any other; for they are a particularly reserved and silent people, who mix little with those of a different persuasion; and for this reason, information respecting them is with great difficulty obtained.

The question seems now decided, that the Copts are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians; though much altered by intermixture with other nations, particularly the Abyssinians, whom they resemble in colour, and also slightly in features. By the Egyptians here alluded to, I must not be understood to mean *all* those whose forms are so accurately represented on the ancient paintings and sculptures; for even independent of the conquered races that are exhibited on these drawings, there were at least three distinct races of Egyptians, as stated by Blumenbach, and as can be seen by a reference to the magnificent plates of Rosselini. I have, however, seen Copts who partook more or less of the peculiarities of all these races.

In stature the Copts are generally small, though as far as my observation of them went, they were not the ill made or deformed race, that they were represented to be by Denon. The figure of the head is that denominated Caucasian; the hair

thick and rather crisp or curly, but not woolly; the beard is scanty but not remarkably so, or any thing like what it is in the negro. The nose is straight, though rather larger at the end, and more inclined to the horizontal form than in that ancient race of Egyptians, who belonged to a high caste. The lips are thick; and the colour varies from that of the Abyssinian olive, with a tinge of yellow through it, to a deep bronze; though I have seen several Copts in Cairo as fair as many of the Turks. That which strikes the traveller most is the eye or rather the eye-lids; these Baron Larry has described as possessing a very long aperture. Such it is well known was a peculiarity in the eye of the ancient Egyptians, as seen at page 288 of my first volume, where it is contra-distinguished from that of a *modern* Egyptian, both being, however, blackened along the brow and tarsal margin; a practice still in use among the Copts.

One of the most remarkable appearances visible in the countenance of this race is the peculiarly dark, suspicious, and sinister look that the whole nation possess—perhaps it may be increased by their situations as tax-gatherers and customs' officers. "Of this," says no mean observer of nature, though not a professed physiologist, "I find it difficult, sometimes, to perceive any difference between a Copt and a Mooslim Egyptian, beyond a certain downcast and sullen expression of countenance

which generally marks the former."* The Copts in Jerusalem do not amount to 500; they dress in black, and they have a small chapel to the right of the door of the church of the sepulchre, and a small oratory behind the pavilion. On attending their worship I was greatly struck with the similarity of some of their forms and customs to the Mohammadans, whom, on the whole, they resemble more than any Christian sect known.

Their chapel is divided into distinct apartments, separated by wooden lattice work. Many of the people sat cross-legged, and all on entering took off their shoes on reaching the mat that covered the floor of the interior, similar to that in a mosque; they then approached the altar, and prostrated themselves before it. The few who reside in Jerusalem are as much despised by their Christian brethren, as are their more numerous fraternity by the Mohammadans in Egypt.†

* Lane's Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians; a work which contains more accurate information on the subject of the Copts than any other that has yet been published.

† "The Copts, with the exception of a small proportion who profess the Romish or the Greek faith, are Christians of the sects called Jacobites, Eutychians, Monophysites, and Monothelites, whose creed was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, in the reign of Marcion. They received the appellation of Jacobites, (*Ya'a'ckebeh* or *Yaackoo'bees,*) by which they are generally known from Jacobus Baradæus, a Syrian, who was a chief propagator of the Eutychian doctrines." "Saint Mark, they assert, was the first who preached the Gospel in Egypt; and they regard him as the first Patriarch of Alexandria," "The religious

During our stay in the holy city, the war which Ibrahim Basha was then waging with the Druses and Arabs of the Houran, was at its height; owing to this cause, and to the recent rebellion of the Arabs around the city, and the universal murmurings on account of the unjust conscription, the hill-country about the Jordan, and the Dead Sea, was in a very unsettled state; and a few days before we arrived, two Frenchmen had been fired at across the Jordan. They had, however, proceeded there with a guard of some two or three Egyptian soldiers, whom the natives mistook for a party of conscription officers, then the most obnoxious people in the whole country. These gentlemen acknowledged that had they proceeded alone, they would have been suffered to pass unmolested. It was deemed advisable, however, that our party should not make the attempt to visit this part of Judea; more especially as, not having brought tents with us, we should have been com-

orders of the Coptic Church consist of a Patriarch, a Metropolitan of the Abyssinians, Bishops, Archpriests, Priests, Deacons, and Monks."—*Lane.*

They adhere to the rite of infant baptism; but the form is that of immersion; they also use circumcision; the Sacrament is administered in the form of small cakes, steeped in wine; they use auricular confession, abstain from swine's flesh, also from "things strangled, and from blood." The priests and deacons may be married, provided they have been so before ordination; but if their wives die they cannot marry a second time. The Copts are generally described as a sullen, bigoted, and superstitious race.

pelled to bivouac for the night on the plains of Jericho, or seek an inhospitable shelter in the filthy village that bears the name of the memorable City of Palms. These circumstances were not very inviting to persons seeking health, as well as amusement, so we abandoned the project.

The people of Syria complained loudly against the unjust taxation of human life caused by the conscription, an effect which should naturally be expected; and it might well be supposed that the very wildest of the sons of freedom, the Arab, who for ages roamed unshackled, wherever his inclination prompted him, accustomed to his own weapons, and prejudiced in favour of his own mode of warfare, would (although fighting was his trade and birthright,) resist the galling yoke to which he would consider himself subjected, by the discipline maintained in the army of the Egyptian general. As an illustration of the feelings of the inhabitants on this subject I may relate the following anecdote.

One day, while toiling up the steep ascent of Mount Sion from the valley of Hinnom, we perceived an old grey-bearded Arab who sat under an olive tree with a lovely child in his arms, whose beauty struck us as being very remarkable. The man rose as our party approached, in a different manner from that usually displayed by the generality of his people, and appeared to court an interview. Seeing us stop he advanced a little and inquired of our ciceroni if we were not Russians.

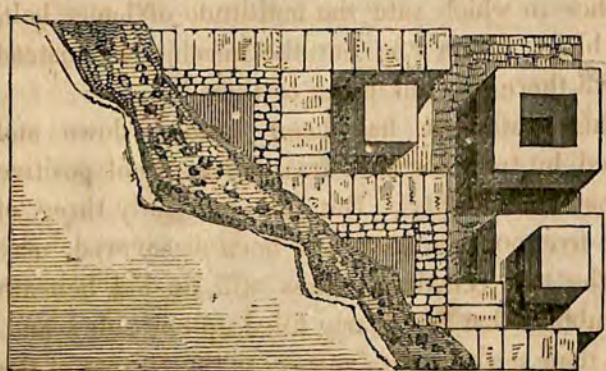
On being informed that we were English the old man's face brightened up, his hesitation vanished; and coming boldly forward he seemed to recognise us as friends, and at once entered into conversation, and related to us his sad tale. It is one that then echoed throughout the length and breadth of Syria—a tale whose sad reality makes the mother childless, and the wife a widow, but one ever consequent on the horrors of a forced enlistment, and the ravages of war. He told us, with tears standing in his large expressive eyes, that he had been the father of eight sons, seven of whom were dragged from him to join the Basha's army within the last two years. Four of them were killed during the Houran war, and after their death the survivors deserted to the Bedawees beyond the Dead Sea; and had then a price fixed upon their heads. The youngest, "his sole remaining joy"—the Benjamin of his old age—was the child he carried in his arms. "When," said he, "will the English come to take this country?—when will you come to rescue us from our present bondage? Here is my child—my youngest—and I know that I am but rearing him for the battle; a few years more and he too will be taken from me. Oh! bring him with you to your own free country—take him any where out of this unhappy land." And he held the child round to each of us in turn. From my heart I felt for him. On informing him that if we took the child to England he would be made a Christian, he appeared

thoughtful for some moments, looked earnestly from us to his child—the inward struggle between deep-rooted religious prejudices and fatherly love were strongly marked in the man's countenance; the latter conquered, and he answered, "Yes, take him with you, even make him a Christian; better that than remain here to be shot." Never did I feel the pride of being an Englishman so strong as at that moment. Thrice happy land; even at that distance, and at the very gates of Jerusalem has the poor Arab heard of your freedom, and looks to you as a shield to the desolate and oppressed—the Judah of the Gentile world! We walked to our convent cells in silence, and often mused upon the Arab's tale.

Having already mentioned the pool of Bethesda, a few words on its site, architecture, and identity, may now be necessary. To reach it we were led down the long, narrow street, called the Via Dolorosa, from a tradition that through it the Saviour was led to Calvary. The pavement of this street is ancient, and formed of large stones laid crosswise, not unlike that of the Strada Cavaliere at Rhodes. To proceed up this, upon their bare knees, was formerly one of the penances imposed upon the pilgrims. Across one part of it is thrown a *modern* arch, called the arch of "Ecce Homo," and shown as that from which Pilate exhibited Christ to the multitude. This arch had an improved appearance at the time of our visit, having been lately repaired, and the window of it was newly glazed and painted!

The place called Bethesda is an immense deep oblong excavation or cistern, somewhat similar to the pools of Solomon near Bethlehem. It is situated to the south of St. Stephen's or the Sheep-gate, immediately beneath the wall of Omar's mosque, and beside the antique Cyclopean masonry that I noticed before in this locality. It is about two hundred and fifty feet long and thirty feet deep; but now dry, and partly filled with dirt, rubbish, and brambles. The walls that form its sides are so curiously constructed that they demand attention. They are of immense thickness, and formed of several upright layers of masonry. The first, or that most distant from the inner side of the pool, is formed of large and perfectly square masses of stone laid in courses, but separated from each other by a band of intervening smaller stones in the shape of long bricks, placed with their ends out, and projecting from six to eight inches beyond the plane of the larger ones; so that they thus formed a kind of reticulated work. The square space left in the centre of each band of projecting stones is again filled up by others still smaller; and the central stone of this part is fitted into a square groove or notch cut about three or four inches deep in the original large blocks with the greatest nicety; and the whole joined together by strong cement. Over this is placed a firm coating of mortar a couple of inches thick, and studded on its surface with small flat flints, and bits of marble;

and last of all it was completely covered with a layer of strong cement of a whitish colour. As the walls have been much dilapidated in several places, I had an opportunity of examining them carefully; but the accompanying wood engraving will explain the construction of this extraordinary and unique masonry much better than any verbal description I could give.



This work is best seen on the southern side of the excavation, where it lies beneath some ruined houses. In the western end the remains of three arches are still in existence; but the third is at present nearly choked up with the *debris* of old and ruined houses. These arches appear to have been formed as an entrance for the water, which was probably conveyed to them from the Bethlehem aqueduct. In the authorised translation of the Scriptures we read that this pool was "by the

sheep-market;"* but as the word market does not at all occur in the original, the greater number of commentators now consider that it was the sheep *gate* that is here understood; and to this locality it precisely corresponds; but, like most of the other places in the holy city, its site has been disputed. Maundrell, who first questioned its identity, says, "at its west end it discovers some old arches now dammed up. These some will have to be the five porches in which sate the multitude of lame, halt, and blind, (John v.); but the mischief is, instead of five there are but three of them."

This statement has been handed down and quoted by traveller after traveller as proof positive against its identity. But although only three of these five porches have yet been discovered, may not the two remaining ones still lie hid beneath the rubbish that has nearly filled up one side; and, from their position with respect to the bottom of the pool, they must have been below the water level. Maundrell and others should also have recollected that it was not the *pool*, but the Bethesda or house of mercy beside it, that contained these porches, in which were seated the impotent folk who waited for the troubling of the water in the adjoining pool, or, to speak more correctly, bath.† Pococke speaks of another pool to the south of the temple

* John, v. 2.

† The bed which the impotent man, healed by our Saviour at this pool, carried, was in all probability the *segaddah*, or small prayer carpet still used in the east.

court which he supposes to be Bethesda, because St. Jerome stated that the water within it was tinged red, owing to the blood of the sacrifices running into it. The anachronism of making St. Jerome and the ancient Jewish offerings contemporaneous requires no refutation. Altogether the place seems to correspond with the Scripture narrative, and I see no reason for disputing its identity; the architecture discovered in the construction of its walls is really the most remarkable with which we are acquainted.

To the north of this pool is an extensive ruin, the remains of the church of St. Anna; and one of the very few relics of the crusaders that now exist in Jerusalem.

That portion of the Mount of Sion which is outside the walls is crowned by the mosque which is said to be erected over the tomb of David, and the chamber where our Lord and his disciples partook of the supper. A day or two after our arrival we walked out to it, and requested permission to visit either the tomb or the cœnaculum. We had scarce set our foot upon the threshold of the outer enclosure, when an old grey-bearded Moullah rushed out of the mosque in the most infuriated passion to prevent our entrance, pouring forth a torrent of abuse, and crying out that "no *other* Christian dog should ever again pollute that sacred spot with his unhallowed foot." We naturally inquired into this conduct, so very unusual among

the Mohammadan priests, and found that it arose from the very indecent and outrageous conduct of a certain Prussian prince, already known in this country as a writer upon men and manners in England, who being employed, as report states, (and I believe it,) by the viceroy, to write in favour of the present government of Syria, was paid by getting a firman of admission to all the sacred places of the Mohammadans, and a *carte blanche* on every subject in the country to defray his expenses, and furnish him with all necessaries.

A scene occurred at Naplous that may serve to illustrate his Excellency's mode of living and travelling in the country. Having had occasion for a bath, the keeper of it demanded the usual payment, which amounted to something less than six pence of our money. The prince produced his firman and refused to pay; but wrote an order on the neighbouring sheyk for the money to be paid out of the taxes to be collected the following year for the Basha!! Next day the prince required horses, and desired the sheyk to procure some. The man stated his inability to comply with the demand; the prince produced his firman, Mohammad Alee's signature had its effect; the sheyk seized the horse of a Bedawee who was passing by, and mounted the Prussian. The owner of the animal instantly and deliberately fired at the rider, who narrowly escaped with his life. This circumstance, however, quieted him for some days.

The tomb of David is situated in a vault beneath the surface, and is considered by the Mooslims as a place of very peculiar sanctity. That shown as the actual soros is railed off from the rest of the apartment by an open work or lattice, within which even the priests seldom or ever enter. The week before our arrival the prince went to visit this tomb of David, having previously outraged the feelings of the Mooslim population, and roused them to a state of frenzy. Not content with looking in at the soros, as other visitors had been in the habit of doing, he desired the attendant priest to open the door of the lattice and permit him to go in. The priest remonstrated, the prince was inexorable—he produced the firman, still the priest refused to open it, and besought him not to require it—all his entreaties were in vain—the hero of the firman drew his sword, caught the old Moullah by the beard—the very greatest indignity that could possibly be offered to a descendant of the prophet—kicked in the door and entered, boasting that he had done what no other person would have dared to attempt. This requires no note or comment, but it fully accounted for the conduct of the Moullah towards our party.

I was quietly admitted to visit the chamber of the last supper next morning, which being a place to whose identity there is not the slightest shade of probability attached, I need not describe. In the vicinity of the mosque is the general

burial-ground for Christians of all denominations; some of the gravestones in which must be ever interesting to an Irishman. My young guide having pointed out those of several foreigners who had died at Jerusalem, led me up to a plain, unadorned slab: "and here, sir," said he, "is the grave of my papa." We sat down beside it; it was that of Dr. Dalton, the first Jewish missionary who visited Jerusalem, where he died of fatigue, fever, and want of medical aid, for at that time there was not a properly educated physician in the whole of Syria.* The relinquishment of worldly prospects, the patient endurance of hardship and fatigue, the untiring perseverance, the enthusiasm, Christian devotedness, and holy zeal of this good man in the promotion of Judah's welfare, for which he laboured, and in the cause of which he died, will make his memory long revered at home, and his grave upon Mount Sion be sought out by all

* I trust, the day is not far distant, when some young and enterprising medical man will be induced to reside in Jerusalem. The value of such a person would soon become known to the Mohammadans; and, no doubt, but in a short time he would be amply remunerated. Our consul and the three resident families of the missionaries, would afford him society; independent of the daily increasing influx of travellers. Science would be benefitted to a degree that cannot be limited. His influence over his Turkish patients would give him immense advantage in prosecuting his researches among the antique remains in that interesting neighbourhood, and the observations and collections in natural history that he might make, would be of great importance to that branch of science, which as yet has been too much neglected in Palestine.

who visit Jerusalem. There is now another grave that also claims our sympathy—that of the daring but ill-fated Costigan, the first circumnavigator of the Dead Sea, whose sad tale has already been given to the world by Mr. Stephens.*

On the bright sunny morning of the 23d we procured horses, and leaving the city by the Bethlehem or Sion gate, set forward to visit the place of our Lord's nativity. We crossed over the valley of Gihon, above the large cistern or enclosure in this ravine called the lower pool of Gihon, and proceeded along the verge of the long irregular hill from which the valley derives its name. Some

* Although I made many inquiries about the papers and journals of our enterprising and talented fellow-citizen, I am unable to add any thing of consequence to the simple statement of the American traveller, (for which science in general, and our own country in particular, are much indebted,) except to correct a slight error in the information, which Mr. Stephens procured; and this I do for the benefit of future explorers. I am informed by Lieutenant Webber Smith, the friend and companion of Mr. Costigan till he left Beyrout, where he first conceived the idea of this voyage, that the boat was not purchased there and carried across to the Jordan, which would have been a labour in itself; but that it was built at Tiberias—launched upon that lake, and floated down the Jordan to the Dead Sea. Great indeed, has been the loss of the valuable information, which that voyage would have given to the world, had its enterprising navigator been spared, for it would have set at rest the conflicting opinions of Strabo, Julius, Pausanias, Josephus, Pliny, and Diodorus Siculus; and the many theories of modern writers as to its *supposed* geography, and the cities said to be submerged beneath its dark waters. Now that the way has been opened, it is to be hoped, that some of our English institutions

chambers and excavations, probably tombs, and seats or resting places, and also steps, are seen in the western side of this deep fosse. The pathway is partly cut out of the rock, and bears the marks of great age and constant use. The distance from Jerusalem to Bethlehem is about six miles, or not two hours' ride, and Father Benjamin kindly furnished us with a letter of introduction to a brother friar of the convent there. For the first mile and a half the road passed over a tolerably level plain, with some vegetation and several cultivated patches.

Shortly after leaving the city we met several flocks of sheep, preceded by their shepherds walking

(say the Geographical Society) will take up the matter, and send out some scientific person, with adequate means to complete what has been so advantageously begun. A firman and a guard of soldiers from Ibrahim Basha, would prevent the attacks of the hostile Arabs, who wander along its banks.

Besides the names that I have mentioned, two other Irishmen have connected their history with Jerusalem. Some fifty years ago, an eccentric gentleman, a native of Dublin, laid a wager, that he would proceed to Jerusalem, (at that time a great undertaking,) play ball against its walls, and return within a given time. He performed the task within the allotted period, and won the wager. And, though last not least; a feat unparalleled in the annals of travelling has been lately performed by the Rev. Dr. Burton, who journeyed to the holy city to inquire into the state of the Jews, in whom, few feel a livelier interest. This kind-hearted, amiable man, whom to know is to esteem, found himself in Jerusalem with but five guineas in his pocket, and upon that small sum he actually walked, except where water intervened, from Syria to Dublin.—See "Burton's Narrative."—Dublin, 1838.

slowly towards Jerusalem, and at once the full force of all the beautiful imagery, and the many touching similes derived from such scenes and associations, and so often alluded to in Scripture, came vividly before me. These Arab shepherds, clad in the turbans and simple abbas worn by their class, and carrying a wooden crook in their hands, walked in front. The sheep, which are a peculiar and very handsome breed, are mostly low sized; the fore-parts of their bodies are of a fawn colour, the hinder parts white; they have long, pendant, silken ears and sweeping tails; their faces are more oval and longer than the species in these countries, and they have altogether a more pleasing, docile, and mild expression of countenance. Not one of them ventured before the shepherd, but stopt or quickened their pace as he did; or if a young and froward creature lagged behind or strayed to either side, a single word from their leader, often a very look, brought it back and checked its wanderings. A few favourite lambs frisked about their master, rubbing themselves against his legs and garments. After the sheep, came some young goats and lambs, and the whole procession closed with about two dozen of old, patriarchal looking goats who brought up the rear. These goats have long horns, and pendant ears that hang almost to the ground, and their hair is a glossy black and of the finest grain; the sheep and goats were perfectly distinct. These shepherds are often to be seen about sunset slowly approaching

the city from all sides, to seek shelter for their flocks, during the night, in some of the deep valleys by which it is surrounded, carrying the lambs in their bosoms.

It is almost incredible, the influence that the shepherds of Palestine have acquired over their flocks; many of them have no dogs, but a word is quite sufficient to make them understand, and obey the will of their shepherd. He sleeps among them at night, and in the morning leadeth them forth to pasture; always walking *before* them, guiding them to these places, where they can enjoy the best food; and resting when *he* thinks they have obtained a sufficiency, or during the heat of the day, in some cool shady place, where they all immediately lie down around him. He has generally two or three favourite lambs who do not mix with the flock, but follow close at his side, frisking and fondling about him like dogs; indeed the degree of intelligence and understanding that exists between the Arab and his flock, is truly astonishing. "They know his voice, and follow him;" and "he careth for the sheep." It was probably to such shepherds as these, that the angel announced the glad tidings of the Saviour's birth.

We next passed the gloomy, prison-like Greek convent of Elias, and there lost sight of the city. From thence to the end of our ride, the country was greatly broken, and resembled, in miniature, that lying between Ramlah and the holy city; and

a continual series of hills, clad in their sombre grey limestone, gave the scenery a solemn and dreary aspect. Through the intervals of those hills, we caught occasional glimpses of the Dead Sea; and to the east, a peculiar conical hill, called the Mount of the Franks, or the hill of Bethulia, supposed to be the Herodium mentioned by Josephus. From this point of the road, until we approached Bethlehem, the country was stony and uncultivated, though it hardly deserves the term barren, for it could be rendered productive, if a proper system of agriculture were adopted. Here I am again compelled to remind those who exclaim against the barrenness of Palestine, that its barrenness arises in a great measure from the want of cultivation; and such persons should remember, that the curse pronounced against the earth, was that of sterility —a sterility, which can only be removed by the fertilizing dew from off the brow of man, till the dawning of another era, when the bloom of Eden shall clothe the rocks and valleys of this promised land.

As we approached the village, the scenery improved; the path winds through olive yards and corn fields, such as, in all probability, the Saviour often traversed. Bethlehem is beautifully situated, and does not require even the hallowed scenes, and the associations connected with its history— though they certainly heighten its effect, and give it an additional interest,—to arrest the attention of the

traveller, and bid him gaze upon the picturesque hill that rises in parterres of vineyards, almond groves, and fig plantations, watered by gentle rivulets that murmur through those terraces; and diversified by the tower and the wine-press.

On entering the town, we met a band of young girls going out to the neighbouring well, with their waterpots on their heads; and these, as well as the other females that we saw in Bethlehem, were some of the most beautiful of their sex that we met in the east. They have slight and elegant figures; a native grace of mien and air; and large lustrous eyes, shaded by lashes of surpassing length, the soft witchery of which may be described in the language of the poet—

"Such eyes! long, shadowy, with that languid fall
Of the fring'd lids, which may be seen in all
Who live beneath the sun's too ardent rays;
Lending such looks as, on their marriage days,
Young maids cast down before a bridegroom's gaze!"

Added to this their oval expressive faces, composed of features regular without formality, and marked without harshness; the tasteful drapery of their light simple attire; the dark tresses that fell in wild luxuriance over their necks and shoulders, braided with small golden coins, while a zone of the same brilliant material adorned their high expanded foreheads; their elastic step, the music of their silver anklets,* and the beauty of the

* Isaiah, iii. 16.

long-necked vases that they carried on their heads, in some supported by the left hand, while the right held up the folds of their blue tunics—all cast a charm, an inexpressible charm, round those lovely Arab maidens. The rose-bud's bloom, that complexion so rare under an eastern sun, was on their cheeks and lips, very different from the pink, sickly tinge of the Circassian or Osmanli, or the dark-olive hue of the Abyssinian, or Egyptian. In Europe those females would be admired as most interesting brunettes;* and a modern painter should have one of the maids of Bethlehem to sit for the Madonna.

Bethlehem is a straggling village, with one broad and principal street; the houses have not domed-roofs like those of Jerusalem and Ramla, but are built, for the most part of clay and bricks, and every house is provided with an apiary, the beehives of which are constructed of a series of earthen pots,

* No females in existence possess finer or more erect, and at the same time, more graceful carriages than those accustomed to carry light burdens on the head. It is a subject of some surprise, why those to whose care the education of the young ladies of our own country is committed, have not sooner taken the hint, from this fact, and thrown aside those horrible machines, backboards, steel straps, and monitors, that are calculated not only to give an awkward and ungraceful gait and appearance to the person, but really to promote deformity. To appreciate the advantages of this mode of exercise, it is only necessary to observe any milkmaid walking, with a pail upon her head. To preserve its balance, she *must* stand perfectly erect—the shoulders must be in their natural position, and on a perfect level; and, strange as it may seem, yet to preserve the

ranged on the house tops in the same manner as the wooden ones on the coast of Asia Minor. There are said to be about 3,000 inhabitants in this place, the greater part of whom are Arab Christians; for Ibrahim Basha, finding that the Mooslims were continually at war with the Christians, had lately expelled the former, leaving the latter in peaceable possession of the village.

The inhabitants are nearly all engaged in the manufacture of those articles of sacred merchandize that supply the bazaars and warehouses in the holy city; and no sooner was our party espied than we were beset by a multitude of bead hawkers and relic sellers, shouting aloud the respective holy powers and miraculous virtues of their different wares. Some of the articles wrought in mother-of-pearl are carved with considerable skill; more than we could expect to find in that

equilibrium of the burden, be it ever so light, the back must be straight; and more pressure is taken off those parts of it, called in technical language, the intervertebral substance, than when walking, or remaining without any such appendage. Were a similar kind of exercise more used, and were our young ladies permitted to breathe a little more fresh air, we should see fewer of those deformities, even of a minor character, that at present unhappily prevail amongst the sex; and are more often, perhaps, the effect of inattention and improper education than of any other cause whatever. If these obvious principles were attended to, we should have less occasion for the hour of powerful kalesthenics, resorted to, to make up for the many, many hours of the day, spent in acquiring mechanical, and, perhaps, useless accomplishments.

distant land, and the workmanship of some would not disgrace the artists of our own country. One of these manufacturers, whose workshop I visited, informed me, that when a boy he had been sent by his parents to Spain, to be instructed in the trade.

In the streets several Bedawee blacksmiths were at work. The rude and simple character of their temporary forges attracted our attention. The bellows which they employed, was a most primitive instrument of its kind, being nothing more than an inflated goatskin bag, such as we read of being used by the early Greeks; and which in this instance, was blown by the smith's wife pressing its sides together and then drawing them asunder to admit the air.

At the farthest extremity of the town is the Frank convent, at whose low massive door we alighted, and were well received by the fraternity. We were first conducted into the cathedral of St. Helena, a handsome, spacious hall, consisting of a central nave and isles, separated from each other by rows of tall Corinthian pillars of gray marble, but much defaced by dirt and the remains of gaudy paintings. As there is no ceiling, the lofty roof is exposed to view; and, although composed of the last of the cedars of Lebanon, it is still in a state of good preservation, and affords a fine specimen of the architecture of its day. The chapel at the upper end of the hall is now separated from it by a wall; as it was considered too expensive to

keep up the whole; and the centre has a most cold, lonely, and desolate appearance. In this cathedral Baldwin the First was crowned king of Jerusalem, and it is the most chaste and architectural building in Palestine. The chapel belonging to this part of the building scarcely deserves our notice; but, the attendant monk placing in the right hand of each of us a large lighted wax taper, led us to the subterranean grotto, called the Chapel of the Nativity.

A flight of steps conducted us into an oblong apartment, on one side of which a small low crypt, said to be hewn out of the solid rock, was exhibited to us as the actual place of the Nativity. On one side of it is an altar with a silver plate, like to that at Calvary, and said to cover the spot on which the birth of the Saviour took place. Opposite to this, a niche in the wall contains a very handsome, polished white marble trough, like a sarcophagus, which is shown as the very manger in which the infant Jesus was laid!! This trough is on a level with the floor of the apartment, which is somewhat lower than that of the outer chamber. The niche in which it is placed, contains a very good painting, in the style of the Spanish school, representing the event. Another place in this little vault is shown as that in which the Magi presented their gifts, and is also ornamented by a good painting. A number of silver lamps, suspended from the roof, are kept continually burning; the walls are ornamented

with blue satin and brocade, which are now in rather a faded and torn condition, but patched with tawdry furniture-calico. Can this be, in reality, the stable in which the infant Jesus was brought forth—and this the manger in which he was laid? I am constrained to say, that I do not think they are: for the places shown as such, are neither in accordance with the simple narrative of Scripture, nor at all analogous with the appearance that inns, or public caravansaries at present exhibit throughout the east; and it must be remembered, that in the never-changing manners and customs of this country, we have at this very day, the same usages and habits, that existed from the very earliest period that history records. The opinions set forth and the statements for and against its identity are easily disposed of; nor would I have introduced the subject, except for the arguments brought forward by Dr. E. D. Clarke, who by the way has written most learnedly upon the place, though he acknowledges that *he did not visit it*; and whose arguments, if they were valid, do away with all those that he had previously urged against the Holy Sepulchre—nay, they complete the only evidence upon that subject that he seems to ridicule. The passage runs thus:—"The tradition respecting the Cave of the Nativity seems so well authenticated, as hardly to admit of dispute. Having been always held in veneration, the oratory established there by the first Christians attracted

the notice and indignation of the Heathens so early as the time of Adrian, who ordered it to be demolished, and the place to be set apart for the rites of Adonis. This happened in the second century, and at a period in Adrian's life when the Cave of the Nativity was as well known in Bethlehem as the circumstance to which it owed its celebrity." He then appeals to the authority of St. Jerom, and says that "upon this subject there does not seem to be the slightest ground for scepticism."* This is strange language from a writer who, but a few pages farther back, totally overlooks the facts of this same Adrian erecting statues of Venus and Jupiter over the sepulchre of Calvary; and which likewise prove that they were subjects of interest, if not of adoration, to the Christians of Jerusalem in the second century; and also in one who styles the Empress Helena "an infatuated old woman," and the holy sepulchre "a dusty fabric, standing like a huge pepper-box," &c.

It is stated by the monks, and all previous travellers have given insertion to the legend, that the whole of this grotto is hewn out of the solid rock. This, from actual inspection, I can positively deny, for part of the tapestry having fallen from the roof I was enabled, much to the annoyance of the attendant friar, to examine it, and found it *arched with masonry*. The chief

* Travels in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. By E. D. Clarke, L.L.D. vol. iv. 8vo. edition, p. 415, 6.

objection to this place is its total dissimilarity to all other inns or resting places. The answer to this objection, that "it is by no means uncommon in these countries to use similar *souterrains* as habitations for both man and beast," * cannot have any weight, or be taken as a proof for the identity of the manger at Bethlehem; for the places that are thus alluded to were never formed for inns, but were originally tombs, which, having been rifled of their contents, became in turn resting places for occasional travellers, and their sarcophagi or stone troughs were converted into mangers. The catacombs of Alexandria, the tombs of Sackara, and numberless other excavations could be adduced to prove this position, and no traveller has yet recorded a single instance in any country of a stable having been formed by excavating the rock beneath the surface; this, in particular, is so small that it could barely have held a donkey, which, in order to reach it, must have been led down a steep descent under ground. In order to determine this point I paid particular attention to the karavansaries of the different eastern towns we visited. These places usually consist of a large square enclosure, surrounded by a range of buildings, the upper stories of which are appropriated to the accommodation of travellers, and the lower and the court-yard itself for their beasts. It was in the latter of these

* Three Weeks in Palestine, p. 58.

in all probability, the holy family had to take up their abode, the former being already so completely occupied as to afford them no room. To suppose that the place called the grotto of the nativity bears any similitude to the stable of an eastern khan, as Pococke and others would lead us to believe, is truly preposterous.*

From the grotto we were led through a long winding passage to visit the tombs and shrines of sundry saints and saintesses, all good people, no doubt, in their way, but too numerous to mention. On our return to the sacristy of the Latins we were shown a relic of priceless worth, encased in a splendid frame and decorated with gold and jewels. This is a relic the very oldest that superstition has yet pawned upon the world, and one that dates its origin from the nativity itself. It is the hand of one of the innocents who were slain by order of the Tetrarch, and whose bodies were all thrown into a deep pit which was pointed out to us beside the chapel that contains the manger. This musty

* The Modern Traveller contains many sensible remarks in confirmation of this view, and Mr. Buckingham was also of this opinion. Pococke gives a description of the ovens at Bethlehem that really appears so very like this grotto of the nativity that I cannot forbear quoting the passage. "In Bethlehem," says he, "I took particular notice of their ovens, which are sunk down in the ground, and have an arch turned over them; there is a descent of some steps to the door by which they enter into them."

looking little article is considered of great value. There is, however, one slight objection to it. It is quite true that, owing to certain diseases, or to the effect of embalming, or any other drying process, a hand would keep for a much longer period than tradition assigns to this; but this unfortunately preserves that plumpness peculiar to infancy which such means could not possibly retain. This fact may prevent the scientific at least, from enumerating it among the wonders of Beth-lehem for the future. It is, however, an exceedingly good representation, and does considerable credit to the artist who made it.

Having procured some refreshments, not the least valuable part of which was some excellent wine,* we remounted our horses, and proceeded to visit Solomon's cisterns. On leaving the town we passed the well that is supposed to be that to which the mighty men of old fought their way through the camp of the Philistines in order to procure some of its water to assuage the thirst of their shepherd king.† It is a spot of considerable interest, as no

* The wine of Bethlehem is the very finest that we tasted in this part of the Mediterranean. It is not unlike Marsala; and the monks, who were mostly Italians, had too good a taste to spoil it with anise-seed or resin. No doubt can exist but that the grape would grow in great luxuriance in Palestine; and the side of the hill on which Bethlehem stands is a fine situation for it.

† 2 Sam. xxiii. 14—16. Josephus's Antiquities, b. vii. c. 12.

doubt can or ever has been raised as to its identity. It is covered overhead by an ancient groined archway; but the crowd of Bedawees and Beth-lemites around it prevented our dismounting to examine it more particularly.

From this place our road lay over very uneven ground; in some places so rough, craggy, and precipitous as to compel several of our party to alight and lead their horses. The road conducted us into a narrow, but exceedingly fertile valley winding towards the Dead Sea, which exhibited the appearance of the bed of a dried up river. At the upper end of this wild ravine there are the remains of an old town with some ruined forts and towers. This place is watered by a branch of the neighbouring aqueduct, which spreading into numerous little rills, produces most luxuriant crops of grass and corn, in the fields among which they meander.

This ruined village is supposed to be the Etam that was built by Rehoboam,* and which is noticed by Josephus. "There was," says he, when speaking of Solomon, "a certain place about fifty furlongs distant from Jerusalem, which is called Etham; very pleasant it is in fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water; thither did he use to go out in the morning, sitting on high in his chariot."† And this may be the place referred to in

* 2 Chron. xi. 6. † Josephus's Antiquities, b. viii. c. 7.

Ecclesiastes as one of the gardens* formed by the king of wisdom.

At the extremity of this valley, we arrived at the three enormous tanks, sunk in the side of a sloping ground, and which, from time immemorial, have been considered to be the workmanship of Solomon; and, certainly they are well worthy the man to whom tradition has assigned their construction. These reservoirs are each upon a distinct level, one above the other; and are capable of holding an immense body of water. They are so constructed, both by conduits leading directly from one to another, and by what may be termed anastamosing branches, that when the water in the upper one has reached to a certain height, the surplus flows off into the one below it, and so on into the third. These passages were obstructed and the whole of the cisterns were out of repair when we visited them, so that there was hardly any water in the lowest, while the upper one was nearly full of good pure water. Small aqueducts lead from each of these cisterns to a main one that conducts the water to Jerusalem. They are all lined with a thick layer of hard whitish cement, and a flight of steps leads to the bottom of each, similar to some of those in the holy city. Where the lowest cistern joins the valley of Etam,

* The original word garden is here supposed to be derived from the Persian *Ferdoos*, and signifies a pleasant place—a place full of delights—hence our own word *paradise*.

it is formed by an embankment of earth, and has a sluice to draw off the water occasionally. A short distance from the upper pool, I descended into a narrow stone chamber, through which the water passes from the neighbouring spring on its course to the cisterns. This, likewise has a traditionary tale to tell. It is said to be the sealed fountain to which allusion is made in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Canticles. From an examination of this place, it appeared to me that several springs empty themselves into these reservoirs, which are partly cut out of the solid rock, and partly built with masonry.

Nigh to the upper pool there is a large square castle, apparently of an order of architecture belonging to the Christian era; and, in all probability, so placed to guard these water-works during the period of the holy war; for we know to what extremities some of the early Crusaders were reduced from the different wells being poisoned by the enemy upon their approach to Jerusalem.

These fountains having been already described with great accuracy by Maundrell, Pococke, and others, I shall not dwell longer upon them, except to mention two circumstances, that it appears extraordinary have not been adverted to by former travellers. The first is, their great similarity to the fountains assigned to Solomon at Ras-el-Ain, near Tyre;*

* See page 157 of this volume.

and the fact of both being natural springs, that were pent up so as to raise the water they contained to the level of its final destination. The second is, that these springs were originally collected into one stream, which must then have formed a considerable rivulet, and running through this valley, finally discharged its waters into the Asphaltine lake.

It was beside these water-works that Ibrahim Basha suffered a defeat by the Arabs some years ago, when he made a sudden *sortie* from Jerusalem, and attacked the rebels there; but their numbers more than doubled his. A garrison of five cavalry soldiers were stationed in the old castle.

On our return to the city, we followed the track of the aqueduct as far as Bethlehem, and afterwards crossed it in several places on the road. It is very small, but the water runs in it with considerable rapidity, as we could perceive by the open places left in it here and there. From the very tortuous course that this conduit takes in following the different sinuosities of the ground, being sometimes above and sometimes beneath the surface, it is difficult to persuade one's self that it does not run up hill, as many have supposed. Finally, it crosses over the valley of Rephaim, on a series of arches to the north of the lower pool of Gihon, and winding round the southern horn of Sion, is lost to view in the ruins of the city. It very probably supplied the pool of Bethesda,

after having traversed a course of certainly not less than from thirteen to fifteen miles.

Having gained the height on which the Greek convent of Elias stands on our return—the view of the holy city that instantly burst upon our sight from this spot, was splendid in the extreme. It realized all I had previously conceived of its grandeur, but which had been dissipated on my first approach from Joppa. From this point it is still a noble city, with tall minarets, domes, and palaces, rising above its bold embattled walls, that are rendered more prominent objects by the surrounding valleys. Reining up our horses, we stopped to admire the glorious prospect. We could not but call to mind that it was from where we stood the first Crusaders viewed Jerusalem, and where the soldiers of the faithful Tancred first beheld the long-sought object of their wishes—for which they had suffered fatigues, hardships, and privations, almost unknown before. We can well imagine their enthusiasm, when it burst upon their ravished sight, and conceive the groans, the tears, the tumultuous feelings of transport, joy, and thanksgiving, that the historian informs us then broke forth, and which afterwards formed so glorious a theme for the muse of Tasso.

In the evening we rode out again; crossed the valley of Jehosaphat, and skirting the southern side of the Mount of Olives, pursued our way to Bethany. The road is stony, and in many places

rugged and precipitous. The miserable village of Bethany is about a mile and a half or two miles from the city; a few scattered huts, half in ruins, and an old mosque, still mark the place. But notwithstanding this desolation and wretchedness, it is a most romantic spot, beautifully situated on the brow of the hill, and commands an extensive and varied prospect of the surrounding scenery. The hour at which we visited it was favourable for viewing the scene, and was well calculated to make a lasting impression upon us, for the sun was just going down behind the hills of Judah, to lave his burnished form in the waters of the midland sea, and the shades of night that in these climes follow quick upon his parting rays, were gathering from the distant desert, and sweeping over the dark surface of Gomorrah's lake. The birds were hastening to their nests, numerous crows, and large snowy storks winged their calm and noiseless flight above our heads, and the shepherds were conducting their flocks to places of security for the night.

One of these old shepherds offered to be our guide to the tomb of Lazarus. This is a subterraneous vault, cut out of the rock, something like the tomb of the Virgin Mary, but much smaller. We entered by a low door, and descended a flight of steps which conducted us at a considerable depth below the surface to a small chamber; to the right of which, and still lower, is a grotto or crypt, with a bench on one side on which a body may

have been placed. This is a dirty place, and in possession of the Arabs; but I see no reason to dispute its antiquity. Probably it may have been a village sepulchre; for such were not uncommon in Palestine. The Christian will scarcely visit the spot where Mary and her sister dwelt, and where the scene of those many interesting events narrated in the Gospels occurred, without calling to mind the many memorable circumstances and associations connected with it, and having brought before him, in all its vividness, the touching scene of the resurrection of him whom Jesus loved. After examining the place, we returned to the city, and arranged for our departure on the following morning.

Having paid a last visit to my friends on Mount Sion, I retired to rest, I cannot say to sleep; indeed, during my sojourn in the holy city I slept little, except what resulted from sheer bodily fatigue. So exciting were the scenes witnessed in the day, and so perfectly absorbed was my mind in the object of my visit, that it seemed as if I were insulated from the rest of the world. None—not the most thoughtless, apathetic, and indifferent—can reside there a single day without partaking more or less of this enthusiasm and excitement. Yes; there is a charm in Jerusalem that those alone can feel, or can appreciate, who have stood beneath its ancient portals, viewed it from its surrounding hills, and mingled with its mourning

children, amidst the ruins of its prostrate grandeur! Indeed it is almost universally admitted by travellers that so engrossing, so overpowering is the effect produced by the two or three first days' residence in Jerusalem, that they were for some time unable to view with composure even those places, and those scenes that they knew to be fictitious.

March 25th, we left Jerusalem. A circumstance occurred, which, as it is descriptive of the character of an Arab recruit, I may here record. Having started a few minutes before my party, on passing through the Joppa gate, in which there was a guard of young Egyptian soldiers, one of them threw at me, by way of sport, a small pebble, which hit me in the face. Although it did not hurt me very much, yet, as the act was accompanied by the reproachful epithet of Giaour, I let my wounded feelings get the better of my discretion, and in the heat of the moment I turned my horse round and gave the fellow two or three smart blows of my coorbag. He quickly retired into a small recess beside the gate, and on my urging my horse to follow him, the sentry presented his firelock and stood boldly in the way; and the blow intended for the flying culprit, fell upon his shoulders. He instantly let the musquet fall to the ground, skipt nimbly out of the way, and bolted after his companion. My friends now coming up in strong muster and threatening atti-

tude, the affray terminated by the whole guard betaking themselves to the innermost apartment of the gateway. No doubt the most proper and judicious, but less humane measure, would have been to have reported the transaction to the governor, instead of taking the law into our own hands. What then would have been the consequences? We should have had the horrid satisfaction of having this unfortunate man's ears cut off, or his being, perhaps, bastinadoed on the soles of his feet until the very nails dropt off. Under other circumstances the effect of this rencontre might have been attended with more serious results.

We performed the journey back to Ramla in six hours, unmarked by any adventure except that of encountering a sirocco wind, if such be an adventure. While upon the highest elevation of the hill country, we had perceived a certain sultriness of the air. The wind was then blowing from the S.E. and on looking behind us we could discover a peculiar haziness of the atmosphere, which momentarily approached towards us, while in front all was yet bright and distinct. Presently the sultriness increased, although the sun was not particularly hot, and there was rather more breeze than usual. In fact this wind, which was no other than the sirocco, appeared to move as a stratum of the atmosphere, and for some time, even after it reached us, it did not descend and fill the valleys. The wind had been blowing from the

S.E. for the two days previous, and it had, in all probability, been for some time traversing the hot and arid Idumean desert, where it met no particle of vegetable life to modify its force; and where the sand, in all likelihood, had never cooled during the night. This wind also takes up, and holds suspended in it the minutest particles of sand, which, in the space of a couple of hours, we could perceive upon our clothes.

We now began to feel its full force, and its effect was most unpleasant though difficult to describe. The air itself becomes a hot thick palpable haze, of a bluish-grey colour, rendering the outlines of objects indistinct, though it allows you to see much farther than in an ordinary humid mist. I know no better resemblance of the character the air assumes under these circumstances than that peculiar appearance and quivering motion which the heat and smoke of a fire has when lighted in the open air of a clear hot sunny day. Although it may be blowing hard at the time, yet the breeze is unrefreshing, and comes hot and sultry on the brow, producing at first a feeling of oppression and constriction of the chest. This increases in time to a sickening sense of suffocation. There is a general dryness of the skin, the pores cease to throw out their secretions, the mouth becomes dry and parched attended with urgent thirst, the vessels of the eyes red and tinged, headache and lassitude ensue. Finally, great prostration of

strength is felt, which remains long after the exciting cause has ceased, and the other symptoms have been removed; and above all there is the most debilitating effect produced upon the mind by this sirocco—a feeling of good-for-nothingness.

This wind is one of the most trying things that awaits the invalid in his journeys through the Levant; and indeed it is trying to all, even the most healthy. The residents in those places subject to it, shut themselves up in their houses during its continuance, and close all their doors and windows. Its action is generally modified towards evening, though it may continue for two or three days together. For this reason people who live in eastern countries seldom travel, if they can avoid it, during the heat of the day. The depressing effect of the sirocco may be that alluded to by the Psalmist as "the arrow that flieth by day."* Homer also appears to refer to this wind when he speaks of the contagion that appeared among the Greeks, and ascribed it to the "arrows of the god of light." I may remark upon the subject of temperature generally, that about two o'clock was the hour at which the mercury stood highest, and frequently it was higher at 10 A. M. than at noon.

Owing to the great difference of elevation in various parts of Palestine, the greatest dissimilarity prevails with regard to its temperature and

* Psalm, xci. 5.

climate. We were so fortunate as to visit it at the most favourable and healthy period of the year—the snows and cold of winter had just disappeared, and the rainy season had not yet commenced—a month or three weeks earlier we should have been travelling in some places with snow up to our horses' knees, while, at the same time we would have been enduring a scorching sun overhead.* The rainy season in this country is very variable, both as to the quantity which falls, and the period at which it occurs; it is, however, on the average, generally from the middle of March to the middle of April. The best time, therefore, for those who seek health as well as amusement in visiting Palestine is from the end of February to the middle of the ensuing month. It was for this reason we left Egypt† so early in the year, and spent the intervening time on the coast of Asia Minor.

We arrived at Ramla, and with considerable pleasure again entered the comfortable convent, and being greatly fatigued by our day's journey and the sirocco, we soon retired to rest; but the whole of the early part of the evening we were

* For a table of the daily temperature on board our vessel during the mediterranean cruise, see Appendix D.

† As far as my observation went during our stay in Egypt, I cannot say much for its climate as suited to invalids; indeed it requires a tolerably good constitution to withstand the effects of the nightly cold which does not go off till the sun is well up. This variability of daily temperature is highly detrimental to health.

disturbed by the noise and uproar caused by the Mooslim part of the population who, along with the Jews, were keeping a solemn but not a silent fast, on account of the great scarcity of rain, which was leaving the wheat and barley crops in a withering state. The Mohammadans were walking in procession through the town the greater part of the night, accompanied by their priests and a number of boys who chaunted portions of the Kooran, in which the female part of the procession occasionally joined in most shrill piercing tones. Annoying as this was to us, yet I could not help reflecting on the apparent dependence on the bounty of the Almighty that dictated this feeling; and which might be more frequently imitated by their Christian neighbours, who have the Scriptures revealing to them the true character of God, and pointing out the service that he requires from his creatures.

We set forward for Joppa early next morning. On the previous day one of our party rode a mule; a small, wiery, bitter creature; and which, though

There were severe harsh winds, attended with much rain, shortly before we left Alexandria, as can be seen by a reference to the register of temperature in the Appendix. To winter in Egypt with advantage it must be done at Cairo, and that with warm clothing and a fire in the bed-room. I consider that the most favourable time for travelling through the country, is from the fall of the innundation, in September, to the beginning of November, or from the end of February to the middle of April.

as obstinate as mule could be, yet was not wanting in his paces; but could keep up with the horses very well when he liked. This being, however, a straightforward course, was by no means congenial to the stubborn little animal's taste; and, so having caused my friend to ride nearly one half more than any of our party, I undertook to use my influence with the beast during the remaining part of the journey to Joppa. All went on very smoothly for some time; the mule seemed to have got into good humour, and we reached the plains of Sharon, among the olive groves of which we soon espied several large storks and herons. I was anxious to get a shot at one of these; and the mule, nothing loath to leave the direct path, carried me very quietly to where they had alighted. Arrived at the proper distance, I got down, and counting on the creature's recent good behaviour and improved disposition, I passed the bridle over my arm, and creeping stealthily among the bushes, presented my fowling-piece to fire at the birds; when, just as I was about to pull the trigger, the evil spirit of the mule returned—it reared—the gun went off, and, leaving me sprawling on my back, it kicked up its heels, gave a neigh of delight, and galloped away, shewing a determination not to be easily re-captured.

Then came the chase—the whole mounted cavalcade set off after it; and, though they came up with, and several times surrounded it, the animal

always contrived to escape, stopping and turning round with extraordinary quickness; and when its pursuers were at fault, halting to look at them with the greatest composure. After nearly an hour spent in useless endeavours to capture the obstinate animal, the majority of our party proceeded to Joppa, supposing that in a short time it would be so tired that it would easily be caught, or that the owners, who had lagged behind, would come up and recover it. They left, however, two of the sailors, who had accompanied us, to make what they could of the wild creature, and watch his movements in the meantime. For myself, I ran after the brute until I was so wearied that I was unable to proceed farther, and was compelled to lie down upon the ground quite exhausted. After some time when I recovered my strength, I made my way to the port on foot, and left the sailors in pursuit of the animal.

The tars, however, were not to be overcome by a mule. Off they set, and tilting at him from different directions, not unlike the efforts of Clown and Pantaloon, more frequently encountered each other than the object of their pursuit, which, like a nimble Harlequin, still skipt out of the way. Seeing no hope of retaking him left, they loaded their carabines with small shot, and very deliberately fired several rounds at the enemy—whom, to use their own words, they soon "*brought to*;" for after having two or three rounds lodged in his hinder

parts he fell back on his haunches, and rushing in, they captured him, and carried off their prize to Jaffa. They might have relinquished the pursuit for all the mule was worth; but, as it had a valuable carpet strapt upon it of as much value as itself—that could not be lost. The animal was not, however, very much hurt, as the shot which only entered the skin was very small, the distance being considerable.

The whole scene was ludicrous in the extreme; but to me its consequences were any thing but agreeable—for, when I arrived at the port, almost in a state of fever, I very injudiciously exposed myself to a cold draft of air, while resting on the housetop of the consul's residence. The Crusader had put to sea on our first landing, but was now ready to take us aboard; as soon, therefore, as the baggage was shipped and the mule-owner satisfied, we once more set sail for Europe. My feverish symptoms, however, increased; I was confined to bed for several days, and did not recover from the effects of mule-hunting for a long time.

Having now completed the narrative of our eastern travel, and turned our backs upon that land of wonders, the prospects that seem in store for it, and the reflections suggested by the scenes that we had witnessed, kept our minds upon the stretch, till we gained the shores of Cyprus.

CHAPTER IX.

GREECE.

Departure from Jaffa—Flying Fish—Syra—Capè Colonna—Temple of Minerva Sunium—The Piræus—Omnibuses—Athens—View of the Parthenon—Present Condition of the City—Sir Edmund Lyons—Society—King Otho—Bavarian Government—The New Palace—Its Cost—The Greek Loan—Destruction of the Pentellic Quarries—Climate of Athens—Accommodation for Invalids—Means of Access—Fossil Beds of Pikermi—Visit to Marathon—Mr. Finlay—His Paper on that Subject—Arrow-heads—Their Similarity to Irish—Varna—Leoshea—Return to Athens—Easter—The Greek Church—Christian Salutation—Romaic Dance—Missionaries—Schools—The English Church—Hospitals—Museum—Proceed to the Morea—Napoli di Romania—Tyrns—Tomb of Agamemnon—Mycenæ—Its Lions—Architecture—Argos—Geological Appearance—Gibraltar—Advantages of Yachting—Return to Ireland—Kingstown.

On leaving Jaffa it blew a gale of wind, during which numbers of flying fish came aboard. It was then evident to all who observed the flight of these curious little animals, that, although they cannot, as some writers have stated, stop and turn back in their flight, they yet possess the power of making a considerable curve, nearly half a circle either to the right hand or to the left, in their transit through the air.

We arrived at Cyprus on the 28th, but, finding that the plague had just broken out there, proceeded on our course to the bay of Symi, where we remained till the weather moderated.

On the 2nd of April we made the Grecian Archipelago, and cast anchor on the 4th at Syra, the Liverpool of modern regenerated Greece. The island of Syra is picturesque, but barren; the town is not unlike Jaffa, being built on a conical hill, which is covered to the very summit with white-washed buildings, and crowned by a monastery. Below this, the town spreads out along the water's edge, where the crowds of busy traders, the number of boats lading and unlading, and the multitude of sailors and porters that swarm on the wharfs and landing-places, tell of the rising condition, and commercial importance of this flourishing place. The harbour is one of the best in Greece, and exhibits, in general, a vast assemblage of the vessels of nearly every nation trading in the Mediterranean. There is a good light-house and safe anchorage.

The streets of the town are narrow, and the houses small and dirty; yet the number of shops, stalls, and bazaars, and the several happy faces that you meet in your walks through the town, speak, if not of wealth, at least of comfort and comparative independence.

I know of no place that has risen so rapidly as this. Its present population is above 21,000,

though, but ten years ago, it did not reach 6000. The port is free; and all the steamers that ply in this portion of the Levant touch here. Not the least important item of the daily increasing trade of Syra is its pigs, which are the very finest I have seen out of Ireland.

We left Syra the next morning for Athens; but, owing to the baffling winds and partial calms that are met with among the numerous islands of this sea, we were in the evening but a short distance from the place we had left. At day-break next morning we were roused by the welcome information, that we were within a short distance of Cape Colonna. The cold, thin, morning air was just beginning to usher in the dawn as we descended the vessel's side, and proceeded in our boat to visit the ruins of the famed temple of Minerva Sunium, that crowns the summit of this bare, steep, and rocky promontory. Standing, as it does, so lone and drear above that wild and sea-washed shore, it forms one of the most awakening objects that Greece presents, to remind us of her by-gone days and glory; and it is still as noted a land-mark to the modern mariner, as in other times it was to the steersman of the trireme. Independent of its classic associations, it will be ever memorable to the Englishman, as the scene of "Falconer's shipwreck." The hour at which we visited it, was one seldom chosen by the traveller; but one that, although piercingly cold, we had no

cause to regret, for all around us was in unison with the feelings that the place called up. The sea remained a perfect mirror; and the birds of the ocean had not yet risen on the wing to skim its placid waters, or disturb the silence and solemnity of the moment by their fishing song. The sun rose almost directly behind the cluster of noble white marble columns that still remain, until his broad disk appeared a crown of burnished gold above its head. We spent an hour or two in examining the ruins, and enjoying the glorious and exciting prospect which its site affords of that island-studded ocean, that lay stretched beneath and around us.

The same weather as that of yesterday succeeded, alternate calms and breezes, so that at night-fall we were still some leagues from our destination. This day was the anniversary of the revolution of Greece, and we could hear the firing of cannon, and the rejoicing of its people on all sides. At night a thousand lights sprung up around us, and the whole sea became illuminated, from the numerous bonfires on the different islands. There was one in particular that had the grandest and most imposing effect; it was a series of lights placed in the form of a cross, on the side of Mount Anchesmus that faces the city of Athens, and which, owing to the clearness of the night, was perfectly visible to us even at that distance.

We entered the harbour of the Piræus early next morning, and "brought up" among a large

fleet of the Austrian, English, Russian, and French navy, besides some small Greek brigs and corvettes.

We found the port of Athens in a much more thriving condition than accounts had led us to expect. Several good houses have sprung up, with the usual accompaniments of stores and wine-shops; besides a handsome building lately erected for a military college. One of the first objects that caught our attention on landing, was a stand of cars, hackney coaches, and several omnibuses, that ply from the port to the city. In one of these we set forward to Athens, upon a good level road that runs in nearly a direct line to the city; and for the most part, upon the site of the long walls of Pausanias, part of the foundations of which are still discoverable near the Piræus. The distance is about five miles, and the prospect during the entire way is most imposing; for the Acropolis rises in monarchical grandeur in the centre, and every pillar in the Parthenon is clearly defined against the azure sky that forms the back-ground of the picture. On either side of the road is an extensive plain, watered by the streamlets of the Cephissus and Ilissus; it is fast coming under cultivation, bearing some good crops of well-grown barley, and several groves of olives, which yet remain, despite the desolating hand of Turkish tyranny and misrule, that had attempted to destroy them prior to the revolution. We took up our quarters at the Hotel de France, and shortly after strolled out to inspect the antiquities, having

for our cicerone, Mr. George Finlay, now a resident in Athens, than whom few possess more knowledge of the classic lore of ancient Greece, or from actual observation and participation in it, are better acquainted with the late revolution, or the present condition of that country.

Notwithstanding its bad government, Athens continues to improve and to progress; its population is now nearly 20,000, though it was but 5000 six or seven years ago. Alas! many of the sacred associations and illusive charms that surrounded the most refined city of the ancients, are dissolved by the inspection of the capital of modern Greece. To climb the acropolis, we must wade through the mud and dirt of narrow streets and lanes. The lantern of Demosthenes is in the back yard of a miserable hovel; and several of the finest specimens of architecture form the sides and gables of modern buildings. The streets are long, straggling, and irregular; and it is very much to be regretted, that some plan has not been laid down for the construction of the new town, so as not to interfere with the remains of all that makes Athens valuable to the scholar, the traveller, or the antiquary. What an interesting object would not the Temple of the Winds form in one of the squares that may yet beautify the rising city; when the wretched houses that now obscure it and other like structures, shall very likely have been purchased by a "board of wide-street commissioners."

With the antiquities of Athens I shall not trouble

my readers. So many splendid works have been published on that subject; and so many proud names that note the genius and learning of our own countrymen, have gone before us, that little remains for the passing traveller to notice, except its present condition under its *Bavarian* government; unless he would plagiarise from the works of Stuart or Dodwell; quote the accurate and critical Colonel Leake; or draw from the able sketches of the chaste and classical Mr. Wordsworth.

Not that we did not visit every scene of interest; make copious notes of its past and present state; and, in the enthusiasm of the place and hour, pen down heroic and euphonious thoughts and reflections. But the page at which I have arrived, reminds me that I have already carried my readers over a long, and to some, perhaps a weary route; but bear with me a little longer we are on our way to England—to home; there to enjoy whatever of climate suited to invalids our summer months afford; and then we'll part, perhaps for ever.

We remained in Athens, altogether, about eight days. In the mornings we loitered among its ruins, or inquired into its present state; and in the evenings enjoyed the society of some of our countrymen, or partook of the hospitality of our worthy minister—for all who come here, will find a cordial welcome at the residence of Sir E. Lyons;

and few could enjoy the comforts of that elegant and social circle more than we did, after being so long estranged from all that makes the home and table of a Briton happy, no matter under what clime he may be placed. The ambassadors and representatives of foreign powers are by far the greatest personages in Athens; and their residences are the most splendid buildings in the city. In society, which is chiefly formed of those personages, and the few landed proprietors who may have settled in the vicinity of the city, the affairs of other countries and the intrigues of the several diplomatists are much more spoken of, than the affairs or prospects of Greece. But, besides these, Athens in general possesses a few enlightened travellers of different nations—artists, antiquaries, and men of letters; and nearly all the foreign residents are educated persons—well acquainted with the history, antiquities, and topography of their adopted country.

With the government of king Otho every party seemed dissatisfied, and apparently with great justice. But little good could be expected from the despotic administration of a stripling foreign monarch, who despises trade, and thinks that he is not only the state but the country; who acts as his own prime minister, and sits as president of the council that now governs Greece—and that assembly, then at least, with one exception, composed entirely of foreigners! The Greeks naturally look with a jealous eye upon the Bavarian intruders,

who they know will be preferred to any place of trust or emolument before themselves; while the Bavarians in turn consider themselves as martyrs, who have risked their precious lives, and deserted their happy homes, to follow the fortunes of their master. An order has been instituted by the king, and is now worn by every Bavarian soldier to commemorate his coming to Greece!! There is no faith between the two nations; and the only bond of union that might have merged all petty differences between the two people, that of intermarriage, is strictly prohibited by the German priests. Some idea as to the religion of this state, as well as the domestic happiness of royalty, may be formed from a knowledge of the fact, that the king is a Roman Catholic, the queen is of the Lutheran persuasion, and their children, should they have any, must be brought up in the Greek church. The only part of the state that appears well regulated, is that in which the monarch does not interfere; this is the municipal government of the city, which consists of several citizens, and some of the foreigners who fought and bled for Greece during the late war, and are now proprietors and tax-payers under the present dynasty. At the head of this corporation is a lord mayor or provost, who is chosen triennially.

The present palace, though an inconsiderable building as a royal residence, is yet good enough for a king of Greece, in its present infant state.

There is, however, a palace being erected, that bids fair to rival any structure of the kind in Europe, both as to magnificence and extent. It is being constructed of pure white Pentelic marble; the basement story was completed at the time of our visit, and it stands on a space of ground equal to that of the enormous convent of Mafra. The front is to be a Doric colonnade, the columns of which were then nearly finished. Can it be believed that upwards of £150,000 has been already expended on this building, while the country for whose king it is in progress of completion, is scarcely able to afford a taxation sufficient to its own support. Where then has this money come from? Perhaps a solution to this query may be found by an examination of the items in the expenditure of the loan granted by England, France, and Russia, to regenerate the exchequer of this bankrupt kingdom. But there is a still sadder tale to tell of that same palace than the mere squandering of the money I have mentioned; for every block of marble that decorates its walls or forms its pillars, is *blasted* in the quarries of Pentelicus, broken with sledges, and rudely *rolled* down the mountain side; so that scarcely one half of them arrive in safety at the bottom. And when I state it as a fact within my own cognizance, that there is not (or was not up to July last,) a single truck or a single marble saw in the whole quarries, the lover of the arts and the admirer of Grecian architecture will indeed mourn over the

vast and unnecessary destruction of this precious material, on which was once employed the chisel of a Phidias and a Praxiteles. This is no conjecture, nor was it gathered from "common report;" I visited the quarries, spent hours in their examination, and can vouch for what I say. I have then seen blocks of the purest snow-white marble blown into shivers with gunpowder; and yet so careful did the ancients appear of this beauteous stone, that the sides of the caverns, from which were cut the Parthenon and the temples of Theseus, and Jupiter Olympius, are as square, as if the object was to raise the admiration of the visitor, rather than economise the material. The only good road in Attica is that formed between the palace and the foot of the Pentelican quarries.

But let us leave king Otho to his palace and his Bavarians, and speak of matters more interesting to the modern traveller, and more suited to the object of this work. Is Athens a place likely to benefit persons seeking health as well as amusement, and what time is the best for visiting it? A friend who has been long resident in the country, has kindly supplied me with the following useful information on this subject:—

"With regard to the climate of Athens. It is warm in summer, and with a northerly wind, cold in winter; but in an airy situation, it is by no means oppressive in the hottest season; and when you are sheltered from the cutting north wind, it is pleasant in winter; for the sun almost always

shines, and there is very little rain. The mean temperature has been estimated by a French officer at fifteen degrees centigrade. The extremes which I have myself noticed in one year, 1833, were, on the 23rd January at sun-rise, 27°; and on the 20th of August at three p.m. 94° of Fahrenheit; but at nine p.m. the same evening, it was 86°. In 1835 the extremes were 30° and 88°; this was the very unhealthy year, when the whole plain of Athens was a marsh, from the circumstance of the canals of irrigation of the Cephissus being closed up, and the water having during the whole winter (which was a very severe one,) spread itself over the plain. In 1836, which was a very cool year, the extremes were 28° and 85°. The weather is generally agreeable until the 1st of June; but June, July, and August, are very hot; nothing however can be finer than the autumn. Athens is a very healthy spot, and its unhealthiness in 1835 was purely accidental, for water in general is much too scarce to be wasted. The danger of the climate here is not from fever, but cold in winter; as people taking violent exercise and exposing themselves to the cold winds, are apt to suffer severely. Athens is unfortunately the only place to which invalids, who intend to reside for a year, can venture to come in Greece; as it is only at Athens that they can procure good houses. In the islands it would, perhaps, be very agreeable to spend two or three months in autumn and spring.

The communications with Athens are now very regular; from Trieste and Ancona, we have steamers twice a month; from Marseilles by Leghorn and Malta, three times a month; and from this, steamers go three times a month to Alexandria; and others as often to Smyrna and Constantinople, and thence to the Danube, and on to Vienna. Houses are now to be found here at a more moderate rate than formerly. We have had several families spending the winter; and one English family has taken up its residence. We have a very agreeable society, and liberty to dress and do as we like."

On the 10th, we visited Marathon. The distance from Athens is said to be about twenty miles. We passed over a wild and uncultivated district, broken into ravines and deep hollow gorges, or spreading out into irregular plains, wooded with Scotch fir and stone pine. A drifting mist rendered much of our way obscure, and in many places, the bridle-path was rugged, narrow, and precipitous. At Pikermi, about mid-way, we visited the great fossil formation recently discovered in this part of Greece. It is situated in the bed of a deep stream, and the bones, which are principally those of graminiverous and ruminant animals, and very much comminuted, are placed in a bed of hard red ochery clay, in some parts so hard, that the specimens were, with difficulty, cut out of it. The multitude of fossil remains in this pit are almost incredible. Several

horse-loads have been conveyed to Athens, and in the museum of the Natural History Society there, I was afforded an opportunity of examining some most perfect specimens. Besides those animals that I have mentioned, I saw there a very fine head of the Rhinoceros and the Palæotherium, and also the skull of one of the Simiæ of a very small size, but in excellent preservation, with the teeth quite perfect; and I have in my possession the jaws and teeth of some small ruminants and carnivoræ from the same locality. The rain pouring in torrents during the short time that we remained at the place, prevented any very accurate or extended examination; and it is a field yet open to geologists, for I am not aware of any accurate account of it having been given to the world. It was discovered by Mr. G. Finlay, and is situated on the south-eastern slope of Pentelicus, and beside the ancient road leading to Marathon.

As we could only proceed at a slow pace, we did not reach our destination till towards evening. And now we are on

> "The battle-field, where Persia's victim horde
> First bow'd beneath the brunt of Hellas' sword;
> As on the morn, to distant glory dear,
> When MARATHON became a magic word."

We entered the plain by a narrow pass between the sea and a shoulder of the Argalike mountain, where it is supposed the Greek camp was placed, and to the right of the sacred grove and temple

of Hercules. This opinion seems the most probable even to a cursory observer; for, had not this pass been occupied, the Persians might have marched on to Athens without opposition.

This vast plain, the richest and most cultivated that we witnessed in Greece, extends, in a crescent shape, between the mountains and the sea, broken only by the memorable tumulus, and a wood of tall stone pines that rises at its northern extremity. The sky was louring; the mountains indistinct; the sea looked dark and moody, and rolled its moaning waves far up upon the beach, while the wind sighed and whistled through the gaps and hollows of the hills. We turned our horses' heads to the little village or hamlet of Varna, and took up our quarters for the night at the miserable monastery, the only accommodation the place afforded.

Varna, which is believed by Colonel Leake and other eminent topographers to be the site of the ancient Marathon, is situated in a lonely, wild, and picturesque glen, or hollow in the range of hills that rises immediately from the plain. Our domicile was any thing but comfortable or agreeable; a low empty room, without a fire-place, and having no less than four unglazed windows, and a tiled roof, through which the wind gained a very ready ingress. The night was piercingly cold, and the fleas terrific; but the early part of the evening was one of considerable interest, for our companion, Mr. Finlay, read for us that talented and valuable Memoir on the Battle of

Marathon, which has since been published in this country,* and in the morning we visited the tumulus, from the top of which he pointed out to us the position of the two armies, and the different places of interest that surrounded us. The sides of this enormous barrow have now become so much broken down by the excavations of antiquity hunters, and the channels worn by the rains of above two thousand three hundred years, that we rode with ease to the top. Although but thirty feet high, it commands a perfect view of the surrounding plain, which is a rich loamy soil, and was then green with the young corn crop. Having picked up some of the flint and obsidian arrow-heads† that are scattered in such

* On the Battle of Marathon, by George Finlay, Esq.—See the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, Vol. III.—1839.

† Although it is quite true that these rude and diminutive weapons are found in other parts of Greece, (and I have picked up some myself,) yet, the vast quantities found in this mound are very remarkable; but whether they are, as some assert, the arrow-heads used by the Æthiopian archers, who, Herodotus informs us, formed a part of the Persian army, it is difficult to decide. Their identity with similar weapons that have been found in other countries is, however, curious. Colonel Leake mentions their being found in Egypt and in Ireland. The one to which the learned antiquary refers, as found in Ireland, is that in the Museum of the Royal Dublin Society; but since he wrote, two most beautiful and perfect specimens have been obtained in a cromlech lately discovered in the Phœnix Park, which contained likewise, two perfect human skeletons, a shell necklace, an antique earthen vase, and a bone pin—all of which were presented by the Marquis of Normanby to the Royal Irish Academy. These arrow-heads are not cut in the usual shape of those found in this

quantities through the earth of which this monument is composed, we bent our steps to the village of modern Marathona, a pleasantly situated spot, with some pretty country-houses, surrounded by tall waving poplars, and having the river of Marathon winding in its broken rocky channel through the neighbouring glen. Following this stream, we visited the fountain of Oinoe, and, in the overhanging crags, the subterranean cavern, by some called the cave of Pan. This is a succession of caverns, of different levels, covered with sparkling crystallizations, and the roof supported in many places by huge stalagmite pillars, which, with the arching overhead, give it the appearance of rude gothic architecture. It is not unlike Mitchelstown cave, in this country; but, from being the retreat of all the goats in the vicinity, and also the haunt of robbers, the floor of it was covered with dirt, and the roof blackened with smoke.

After this, we ascended the highland country of Attica, to visit Leoshea, the estate of our friend, Mr. F. We crossed through some well watered ravines, with corn fields, groves of magnificent oaks,*

country; but are generally about two inches and a half long, and not quite half an inch wide; flat on one side, and angular on the other; in fact, they are three-sided. They are, however, very rare in this country; but a few have been discovered at Elsden, in Northumberland, and there is a large collection of them among the Scandinavian antiquities at Copenhagen.

* A short time ago, a considerable traffic was carried on in the acorns of Greece; but the Government have put so high a tax upon them, that they are not now worth gathering.

and oriental planes. The soil is, for the most part, a rich ochery loam.

The extensive and elevated plain of Leoshea presents a scene of considerable beauty. The mountains raise their bare limestone heads to a height of nearly thirteen hundred feet, and the secondary range of hills that encompasses the plain, is clothed with forests of magnificent firs, oaks, and poplars, having a thick underwood of arbutus—both the Unedo and the Andrachne. The Judas tree was in full blow, and the peach and apricot just putting forth their blossoms.

We passed the night at our friend's country-seat, and among the other creature-comforts that we enjoyed, were regaled with a dish celebrated in Greece, a lamb roasted whole. Our second course was likewise one of the greatest delicacies among the mountaineers, called cookaratty, being the heart, lungs, and liver cut into small pieces, placed upon a ramrod, something like the Arab kebobs, and bound round with the intestines. It was most excellent. Next day we returned to Athens, by the marble quarries of Pentelicus; the country through which we passed was greatly overrun with low shrubby brushwood, but enlivened by small villages, surrounded by their olive groves and vineyards.

Of all the efforts made to regenerate this long-distracted country, none deserve such honourable mention as the labours of the American missionaries, particularly those of the Rev. Mr. Hill, who has

established in Athens and Syra, schools, that will ever make the name of America dear to the people of Greece. In Athens, the missionary school contains upwards of six hundred children, and in Syra and other places, the number amounts to more than five hundred. Shortly before our visit, the Greek and Russian bishops had attempted to put down this institution and endeavoured to make the Government interfere in their behalf; but, notwithstanding the greatest opposition from the priesthood, the schools continued to flourish; for all the higher classes of well educated Greeks had determined on supporting them. The Scriptures are translated into the modern Greek from the original Hebrew. Thousands of copies are in circulation, and the anxiety evinced by the people to possess the sacred volume is really astonishing.

One of the most interesting scenes that I witnessed in this country, was that of laying the foundation stone of a Church of England place of worship, on the site of an ancient temple, near the road leading to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius. All the English residents were present, and a more impressive ceremony I never beheld.

On Easter Saturday, I visited the Greek chapel, to see the procession and the ceremony of burying the host; and a scene of greater violence and confusion can scarcely be imagined among a people calling themselves Christian. First came an immense crowd, carrying lighted torches, then a military

band. The ministers and officers of the royal household followed; then came several richly dressed priests, and the aged Bishop of Attica, with his robes and crozier, preceding the hearse or bearer, on which was placed a small coffin, covered with a rich pall of black velvet, ornamented with silver, surrounded with lighted tapers, and decorated with flowers and garlands. A group of Greek and Bavarian soldiers closed the procession. Otho and his interesting looking little queen having taken their seats in the church, the bearer was carried in and laid down in the aisle. The bishop ascended his throne, and the priests commenced a chant that carried me back to the scenes in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This part of the service being concluded, each of the principal persons present having taken some of the flowers or candles off the holy bier, the crowd rushed in; noise, uproar, and confusion ensued; flowers and lights were snatched from each other; and, in their holy zeal, the pall and coffin narrowly escaped destruction; but the soldiers used their musquets with great energy, and, in a short time, restored tranquillity. Disgusted with this religion run mad, I did not wait for the conclusion of the proceedings, but I understood that they lasted till two o'clock in the morning. I know of nothing to equal this frightful scene, but that auspicious moment when, at the close of an election, the chair of the successful candidate is given up to the tender mercies of an Irish mob.

Easter Sunday.—We were awoke at an early hour by the firing of small arms, and the shouting of the people, rejoicing on the anniversary of the resurrection. On going into the streets, happiness beamed in every face; and, when Greek met Greek, it was not in 'the tug of war,' but they rushed into each other's arms, a long embrace ensued, they then kissed each other on the cheeks and forehead, saying, "Christ is risen," and answered, "Yes, Christ is risen, indeed." Not only among friends, but even slight acquaintances, did this primitive 'salutation' take place. I cannot but think that this custom had prevailed in these countries even before the days of the early Christians.

The noisy rejoicings continued all day, and towards evening, the suburbs of the city reminded us of the Hebrew institution of the Passover; for, opposite every house, all who could possibly afford it, were roasting a lamb whole. Their meal concluded, hundreds of the inhabitants congregated round the Temple of Theseus, and kept up the Romaic dance till nightfall. I shall never forget that scene. It was a calm and lovely evening; the distant mountains of Hymettus and Pentelicus threw back the mellow beams of the declining sun; the plain of Athens, with its academic groves and sacred way, was stretched beneath us—the Acropolis held aloft the ruins of the Parthenon above our heads; beside us rose the Areopagus, where St. Paul addressed the men of Athens, and first preached that Gospel which is

again beginning to be published throughout the land; and a little farther on, the eye turned to the Pnyx, where the eloquence of Demosthenes so often touched the hearts, and roused the dormant energies of the ancient Athenians.

There has been a large hospital established near the Theatre of Bacchus, and a Natural History Society instituted, whose museum will well repay the visit of the antiquary and the zoologist. During our stay, the maximum daily temperature was generally 64°.

On the 17th, we sailed for the Morea, and the morning of the 19th, found us beating up the gulf of Nauplia, with a head wind and a drifting mist. Towards evening, the weather moderated; the sun shone out, and we anchored before the walls of Napoli di Romania. The scenery around this place is truly beautiful, and the overhanging rock, with its covered way, and the neighbouring batteries, give it a very remarkable resemblance to Gibraltar, though on a much smaller scale. From our position, the view of this fine open bay and the surrounding country was exceedingly imposing, being enclosed by a semicircular range of mountains, between which and the sea stretches one vast level plain, not unlike that of Marathon, but far greater in extent, being ten miles in length, by three to four in breadth, —then all under cultivation. I never saw so vast and uninterrupted an extent of standing corn. At the extreme end of the bay, the Acropolis of Argos

forms an object which, independent of its classic recollections, must always claim the attention of the lover of the picturesque in nature or in art.

The town of Napoli di Romania has decreased in interest and importance since the removal of the court to Athens. The streets, though good, have a deserted appearance, and many of the houses which had been commenced remain unfinished. It is not unlike a Spanish town; but the lion of St. Mark, that decorates the gates and bastions, reminds us of its Venetian origin.

We drove over to Argos and Mycenæ, visiting, on our way, the ruins of Tyrinthus, the country seat of Hercules, and beside it, the marsh of Hydra. We spent some time in examining the former, groping through its dark passages, and scrambling over its cyclopean walls, the most ancient, perhaps, in existence; for, when in a state little better than the present, they excited the admiration of Homer and Pausanias. This memorable spot, containing the oldest remains of Hellenic architecture, and one which witnessed the gathering of the kings and warriors of Greece upon the surrounding plain, before the Trojan war, stands upon a low hill near the shore, and when viewed from a little distance, or on entering the harbour of Nauplia, looks like an immense oval tumulus. Leaving the carriage at the foot of the rocky defile that leads up to Mycenæ, we scrambled over the hills, and followed our guide to the city of Agamemnon. The situation was lone and desolate, and just what the classic ruins of that heroic age

should be. We approached it through the narrow walled way that leads to the Gate of Lions, and sat down to rest beneath the shadow of the oldest sculptured monument in Greece. The gateway was choked up with stones and brambles; but the stone that spans the top, and which bears in good relief the rampant lions, is still undisturbed. That portion of it, however, which contained the heads of the animals has been broken off, and; of late years, antiquarians have held learned discussions as to whether these animals are intended for wolves or lions, many inclining to the former opinion. Had those learned gentlemen combined a knowledge of zoology with their researches, they might have seen, that although the heads have been broken off, the feet, which are most exquisitely and accurately carved, are those of *feline* animals. The want of the mane, and the tuft at the end of the tail, leads us to look upon them as lionesses.* We climbed into the citadel, and read a lesson from the many beautiful specimens and orders of masonry that compose its honoured and time-worn walls, and then bent our steps to the tomb of its renowned founder—by some styled the treasury of Atreus.

This monument of the past is still in most perfect preservation. Externally it is covered with earth, and appears an immense conical mound, not unlike an ice-house; a long stone passage, open at

* Quere.—Had the Mesopotamian lion a mane like those we are now acquainted with? Ancient authors say no.

top, leads to the huge Egyptian door; and here the attention of the visitor is attracted to the lintel, which is one of the largest stones I have ever seen in any country, being 27 feet in length by 16 in breadth, and 4 feet 6 inches deep. The architecture of the interior of this vast bee-hive dome, being already well known to the world; and having, in different places in this work, had occasion to point out the resemblance which it bears to some of the antique remains in our own country, I need not here describe it.*

From an examination of the vast plain of Argos, and a review of its geological character, I am strongly inclined to believe that, at some very remote period, the sea covered all that level surface, now lying between it and the mountains—more particularly as the lower stratum of this circular range of hills is composed of a close compact conglomerate, precisely similar (though from its age more compact) to that at Rhodes, and along the coast of Asia Minor; like them, the beach, that in all probability this once formed, may have become consolidated. A good sample of these rocks is to be seen in the stones of which the tomb of Agamemnon is built.

Having regained our carriage, we spent an hour or two in Argos. The modern town is but a poor straggling place; the houses mean and detached. It is situated at the foot of the Acropolis, and

* See "The Celtic Druids," by Godfrey Higgins, page 226.

is far inferior to Nauplia. The only antiquity of any value now remaining, is the theatre, which, like that at Telmessus, is formed out of the hollow side of the mountain facing the sea; and like it, the prospect that it commands, is most striking in scenic effect, having stretched before it this noble arm of the Ægean, with its distant islands—the fortress of Napoli—the terraced mountains, and the verdant carpet of the luxuriant plain. An idea of the vastness of this theatre, may be conceived from its dimensions. There are three tiers of seats, and each seat is twenty-nine inches broad, and thirteen high; there are thirty-six in the first tier, with a division of four feet nine inches in length, and two feet in height between it and the next, which contains sixteen seats, with a division of eight feet nine inches, and a rise of four feet—from this to the top are nineteen seats. There is a part of one of the side scenes standing; but, from the bricks used in its construction, and the apparent newness of the work, I should consider it of a more modern date than the rest of the theatre—probably, it may have been built in Roman times. In the immediate vicinity of these remains is shown a cavern, which Dr. Clarke conjectured to be a soothsayer's cave. This seems doubtful—the niches cut in it for votive offerings, give it more the appearance of some rude and early temple. On our return to the yacht, we encountered a sirocco, which was exceedingly oppressive, and raised the mercury to 72°.

Here one of our companions, Mr. W. Meiklam, left us to proceed to Constantinople; and our own friend and guide, Mr. G. Finlay, returned to Athens.

April 21, we hove anchor and stood out to the gulf, passing the town and island of Spezzia; and on the 23rd rounded the Capes St. Angelo and Matapan. A few days more brought us to Malta; when, having received our letters, and taken in provisions and water, we sailed for Gibraltar on the 1st of May; but, from alternate calms and head winds, we did not reach it till the 17th. Our voyage, however, was not without interest; at one time we were employed in turtle-catching on the coast of Africa,* where we lay for several days becalmed; at another, we were running along the Sicilian coast, gazing on the snowy top of Etna, or the ruined temples of Girgenti, so picturesquely situated amidst the Italian scenery of the vineyard and the orange grove. Farther on, upon the Spanish shore, we encountered a storm of considerable duration and magnitude, which at length drove us into the bay of Almeria, the wind remaining nearly due west. Those romantic writers in

* While in this latitude a pilot-fish made its appearance, and kept ahead of us for several days, sometimes remaining for hours beneath our cut-water, then shooting off in playful gambols to either side; rising to the surface to display the beauty of its azure bands in the sunshine, then darting far ahead, as if to defy our speed. After several fruitless attempts, it was at last struck with a *grains*, or forked harpoon, by one of the men. Considering the size of the animal, and the velocity of its movements, this was a feat.

the silken annuals of the day, who describe in such glowing terms the calm blue waters and Claude Lorraine skies of the Mediterranean, must have taken their descriptions from the terraces of Naples, the lovely groves of Messina, or the piazzas of the island city of the Adriatic; but could never have experienced a gale of wind beneath the Sierra Nevada of Granada.

On the 23rd we cleared out of harbour, rounded the Tarifa point, and once more bent our course to the happy shores of Britain. Our pilgrimage in other lands is now completed—our voyage nearly at an end. Scenes of the east farewell! Shall I ever again enjoy the exciting solitude of those resplendent monuments of past times and people, that have yielded to me so many hours of pure and unmixed enjoyment; and, while they ministered to the pleasures of the present, through the associations connected with the past, raised my thoughts to objects of higher and more enduring happiness in the future. Ye wide-spreading palms and glittering minarets, the evening note of whose Mooslim chant is still ringing in my ears—shall I ever again hear those thrilling strains of the Imam's call to worship. And ye! ye tombs, amidst whose dark recesses I have so long wandered, adieu! On this latter theme I may have been fatiguing to some; but unpleasant as that topic may be, to it we must all, one day or other, come; for tombs, whether they be the simple mother-earth that

enwraps the body of the rustic, or the martial cloak that shrouds the stiffening form of the warrior—whether the gigantic pyramid, or the lowly green-sward—the mound that covers the kistvaen, or the urn that holds the ashes—whether the costly sarcophagus that surrounds the embalmed body of the Egyptian, or the shell-adorned cave, where lie the bones of the mariner beneath the ocean's unfathomed depths—the sculptured cathedral monument, or the modest tomb-stone in the grave-yard—they are all so many chambers in the great treasure-house of time; in which are stored the coinage of successive ages, to be opened when the trumpet of the angelic herald summons the gates of death to surrender, and the bright morning of eternity dawns on the night of the grave.

Many topics that I have touched upon, and many scenes that I have described, may to some appear little worthy of notice; but to me they have been interesting and instructive, and as such I give them to my readers—for

> "In a strange land
> Such things, however trivial, touch the heart,
> And through the heart the head; clearing away
> The narrow notions that grow up at home."

And now, before taking my leave, I would say a word at parting on the subject of yacht clubs and yachting.

"Of all the amusements (says Captain Marryatt) entered into by the nobility and gentry of our

island, there is not one so manly, so exciting, so patriotic, or so national as yacht sailing." It is, indeed, one that Englishmen alone can afford, not only from our maritime position, but from the wealth required for its maintenance. It has materially conduced to the improvement of ship-building in this country; for some of the very fastest sailing vessels, for their size, ever launched, were yachts. It is one of the best means of educating a superior class of British sailors, who often see more real service and seamanship, than many who are for years on board a vessel of the line.* How valuable would be the 2,000 men who are now engaged in the different yacht clubs of this country, when distributed among our navy, in case of war or invasion. In stating that the sailors in the yacht service were the best educated and best conducted men in the whole British navy, I should, I feel, be but giving them that character which they deserve. They are, in general, a set of picked men. Their pay is better than of those in men-of-war, and they are much better instructed in practical navigation than in the merchant service. It is, indeed, a lamentable fact, that the masters of our traders, so far from giving instruction to those who may wish for it, absolutely prevent men from "taking the sun," or in any way improving themselves in the theory of

* The English fleet has been now so long in the Tagus, that an officer of one of our ships stated to me, that he really feared to go to sea with hands so long unused to work a ship.

their profession. On board the Crusader, and several other vessels of the Royal Yacht squadron that I have known, some of the men were regularly instructed in those different branches that may qualify them for rising to mates or masters.*

Besides all these considerations, the money expended in yachting finds its way into the pockets of our own countrymen. The vessel, and everything belonging to her, is purchased at home; the wages of the men are, in a great part, paid to their wives or relations at home; and the provisions that are required, especially on a Mediterranean cruise, are procured at English ports.

We are now upon the little Sole-bank, and fast approaching home. "Below, there, forrard." "Holloa!" "Hand up the deep-sea lead." "Aye, aye, sir." "Now, then, my man, mind your helm. Come, my lads; one of you get out with it on the martingal. Luff, there, luff, and shake the wind out of her sails." "Luff, 'tis, sir." "Heave, men; heave." "Watch—watch." Splash goes the lead, and the coils are thrown off by the different hands. "Soundings; haul on the line, now; ninety-five fathoms. Come, keep her, her course, north-east half east; crack on her; the breeze freshens; stunsails,

* I should be wanting in duty did I not take this occasion to remember the care and attention exhibited on this subject by our sailing master, Mr. W. Howard, as well as his skill and dexterity in the management of our vessel.

alow and aloft. There she goes, nine knots; and to-morrow we shall be within sight of old Ireland."

On the morning of the 3rd of June, we entered Kingstown harbour. The hour was early; the inhabitants had not yet stirred. There was scarcely a vessel in port. A thick mist hung over Killiney hill, and everything looked lonely and deserted; but still it was with a beating heart I hailed that shore, to me

> "More dear in its storms, its clouds, and its showers,
> Than the rest of this world in its sunniest hours."

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

A.—PAGE 114.

THE HOUSE OF TOGARMUTH.

WE read, in the 10th chap. and 3d verse of the Book of Genesis, that Togarmah was the third son of Gomer, who was the eldest of the sons of Japhet, and who is supposed to have peopled Galatia: but Dr. Whiston, the translator of Josephus, who first put forward this opinion, must certainly have erred in calling the Galatians GAULS;—for it must refer to the country of those Asiatics to whom St. Paul wrote his Epistle. Josephus, likewise, makes Togarmah or Thrugramma the father of the Phrygians, (Vol. 1, B. 1, ch. 6, sec. 1.) Dr. A. Clarke considers the descendants of Gomer to be the Turcoman tribes; and Calmet and the majority of the learned incline to the opinion that Cappadocia and Armenia were the countries they occupied. From them sprung the Cimbri, or Cimmerians, the most ancient of the Celtic nations, who peopled the greater part of Europe, having spread from their original seat, on the borders of the Euxine Sea. Dr. Wells makes the following judicious remarks upon this geographical subject:—

"The third and last son of Gomer, named by Moses, is Togarmah, whose family was seated in the remaining, and consequently, in the most easterly part of the nation of Gomer. And this situation of the family of Togarmah is agreeable both to sacred and common writers. For, as to sacred Scripture, Ezekiel thus speaks, chap. xxxviii. v. 6: '*Gomer and all his bands; the house of Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands.*' And again, ch. xxvii. v. 14: '*They of the house of Togarmah trade in the fairs,* (i. e. the fairs of Tyre,) *with horses, and*

horsemen, and mules.' Now, that the situation we assign to Togarmah does, in a manner, lie true north to Judea, is evident to any one that will view the map; and that Cappadocia, by which name a considerable part of the lot of Togarmah was in process of time known to the Greeks, was very well stocked with an excellent breed of horses and mules, and that the inhabitants were esteemed good horsemen, is attested by several heathen writers, (Solinus of Cappad. Dionysius Perieg. v. 973, et seq. Claudian in Ruffin, lib. ii. Strab. lib. xi.) And, for a further confirmation of the truth of the hypothesis, there are to be found footsteps of the very name of Togarmah in some of those names whereby some of the inhabitants of this tract were known to the old writers. Thus Strabo (lib. xii.) tells us, that the Trocmi dwelt in the confines of Pontus and Cappadocia; and several towns lying on the east of the river Halys, and so in Cappadocia, are assigned to them by Ptolemy. They are by Cicero called Trogmi, and Trocmeni, by Stephanus; and, in the Council of Chalcedon they are called Trocmades, or Trogmades,—there being frequent mention made in that Council of Cyriacus, Bishop of the Trogmades. All which names plainly appear to be the same originally, and are, in all likelihood, formed from Togarmah, or, (as the word is usually rendered by the Greek writers,) Torgama; for they retain in them all the radical letters of the name of their progenitor, except the terminative one, if that be a radical."—Wells' Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament, Vol. 1, pp. 65-6.

B.—Page 151.

The Tyrian Dye.

Being the substance of a Paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, May, 1839.

There are few subjects possessing a greater degree of interest than the study of the arts and manufactures of the ancients. They are not only useful and instructive to the scholar and the

antiquary, by explaining much of the obscurity existing in the writings of ancient classic authors, as well as by elucidating the manners and customs, and state of society of our ancestors, but because they afford a practical lesson to the manufacturer and the artizan in the present day.

The exact origin of the art of dyeing; or the precise period when it was discovered, is still involved in obscurity. Like most others of the arts and sciences, it must be referred to a period far beyond the date of any authentic record upon the subject; but authors generally agree in assigning it to Egypt. It is, however, remarkable, that neither in the pictorial language of the Egyptians, nor in the work of Mr. Wilkinson ("Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians") do we find a single instance of the actual manufacture illustrated, although dyes similar to the Tyrian were common among them. I do not allude to the dyes obtained from preparations of copper, with which their different porcelaneous substances were stained, but to those used in the dyeing of linen or woollen fabrics.

If such were an art peculiar to Egypt, and not obtained from other places, as Tyre, and the coast of Phœnicia, (to which opinion I am inclined,) and which places were, we know, in great commercial intercourse with the Egyptians, the secret was in possession of the priests, who were unwilling to make it known.

The fables related of the discovery of the Tyrian dye, are too well known to require insertion here.

Pliny, the naturalist, who must himself have witnessed the process, has given a lengthened and detailed account of it in his ninth book, from chapter 36 to 41, inclusive; from which, as it is the only such account in existence, I shall give a few extracts from the translation of Dr. Holland, merely substituting a somewhat plainer idiom for the quaint language of 1634. Of late years it has been too much the fashion, not only to descry deficiencies, but totally to discredit the assertions of this celebrated author. True it is that his writings contain many fabulous, many miraculous accounts; but such, it should be remembered, were the popular or vulgar errors of *his* day, as, in times to come, another generation shall discover in our own systems. Pliny, like too many writers of the present day, gave insertion to a mixture of parole evidence and actual personal knowledge, and observation,—

and it requires some discrimination to draw the line of distinction between the two.

"CHAP. XXXVI.

"THE NATURE OF PURPLE FISHES AND THE MUREX OR BURRET.

"Purples live ordinarily seven years. They lie hidden for thirty days space, about the dog-days, like as the murices or burrets do. They meet together by troops in the spring, and by rubbing one against the other they gather and yield a certain clammy substance and moisture, in the manner of wax. The muribes do the like. But that beautiful colour so much in request for dying fine cloth, the purples have in the midst of the neck and jaws. And nothing else it is, but a little thin liquor within a white vein; and that it is which maketh that rich, fresh, and bright colour of *deep red purple roses*. As for all the rest of this fish it yieldeth nothing. Fishers strive to get them alive, for when they die they cast up, and shed that precious tincture and juice, together with their life. Now the Tyrians when they light upon any great purples, they take the flesh out of their shells, for to get the blood out of the said vein, *but the lesser they press and grind in certain mills, and so gather that rich humour which issueth from them.* The best purple colour in Asia is this thus gotten at Tyros. But in Africa, within the island Meninx, and the coast of the ocean, by Getulia; and in Europe, that of Laconica. This is that glorious colour so full of state and majesty that the Roman lictors with their rods, halbards and axes, make way for; this is it which graceth and setteth out the children of princes and noblemen; this makes the distinction between a knight and a councillor of state; this is called for and put on when they offer sacrifice to pacify the gods; this giveth a lustre to all sorts of garments. To conclude, our generals of the field and victorious captains, in their triumphs wear this purple in their mantles, interlaced and embroidered with gold. No marvel, therefore, if purples be so much sought for, and men are to be held excused if they run a-madding after purples.

"But how should the other shell-fish, called Conchylia, be so dear and high-priced, considering the tincture of them carries so

strong and stinking a savour; so sullen and melancholy a colour, inclining to a *blue* or *watchet*, and resembling rather the angry and raging sea in a tempest?

"Now, if I should lay a straw here, and proceed no further in this discourse of purples and such-like, surely our luxurious and riotous spendthrifts would think they had great wrong, and were defrauded of their right: they might, I say, complain of me, and condemn me of idleness and negligence. Therefore, I care not much to put my head within the dyer's shops and work-houses, that like as every man, for the necessity of this life, knows how the price of corn goes; even so our fine folks and brave dandies, who take such pleasure and delight in these colours may be perfect, what is the reason of this, their only life. In the first place, these shell-fish, that serve either for purple colours, or other lighter dies of the Conchylia, are all one in matter; the difference only is in temperature, more or less. And, indeed they may all be reduced into two principal sorts; for the less shell, called Buccinum, fashioned like unto that horn or cornet wherewith they used to wind and sound, whereupon it took that name, hath a round back, and is cut like a saw in the edges. The other is named Purpura, shooteth out a long back, like a gutter, and within the one side it doth writhe and turn hollow, in form of a pipe, out of which the fish puts forth a tongue. Moreover, this purple is shaded, as it were, even as far as to the sharp top or turbant thereof, round about with sharp knobs, pointed lightly, seven in number, which the sea-cornet, buccinum, hath not. (*This sort is to be the murex.*) But this is common to both, that look how many roundles they have, like tendrils clasping about them, so many years old are they. As for the cornet buccinum, it sticketh always to great rocks and stones, and therefore is ever found and gathered about them.

"CHAP. XXXVII.

"HOW MANY SORTS THERE BE OF PURPLES.

"Purples have another name, and are called Pelagiæ, as one would say, fishes of the deep sea. But in truth there are many sorts of them, and those differing either in place where they keep, or in food whereon they live. The first, Lutense, *i. e.*

muddy, because it is nourished of the corrupt and rotten mud; the second, Algense, (the worst of all,) feeding upon reits or sea-weeds named alga; the third, Tæniense, (better than the former two,) for that it is gathered and taken up about the brims and borders of the sea, called for the resemblance to fillets or lists in a cloth Tæniæ. (*Probably a species of serpula.*) And yet this kind yieldeth but a light colour, and nothing deep. There are of them also which they term Calculosæ, of the sea gravel, which is wondrous good for all these kinds of wilkes and shell fishes. And, last of all, which simply are the very best; the Purples Dialetæ, *i. e.* wandering to and fro, changing their pasture, and feeding in sundry soils of the sea (the muddy, the weedy, and the gravelly.) Now these purples are taken with small nets, and thinly wrought, cast into the deep. Within which, for a bait to bite at, there must be certain winckles and cockles, that will shut and open, and be ready to snap such as are without; these limpids are called Mituli. Half dead they should be first, that being new put into the sea again, and desirous to revive and live, they might gape for water; and then the purples make at them with their pointed tongue, which they thrust out to annoy them, but the others feeling themselves pricked therewith, presently shut their shells together, and bite hard. Thus the purples, for their greediness, are caught and taken up hanging by their tongues.

"CHAP. XXXVIII.

"THE FISHING-TIME FOR PURPLES.

"The best time to take purples is after the dogstar is risen, and before the spring; for, when they have made that viscous mucilage in manner of wax, their juice and humour for colour is over liquid, thin, and waterish. And yet the purple-dyers know not so much, nor take heed thereof; whereas, indeed, the skill thereof is a special point of their art, and wherein lieth all in all. Well, when they are caught, as is above said, they take forth that vein before-mentioned, and they lay it in salt, or else they do not do well, with this proportion, ordinarily, namely, to every hundred weight of the purple liquor, a sestier or pint and a-half of salt. Full three days, and no more, it must thus lie soaking in powder; for the fresher that the colour is, so much is it accounted

richer and better. This done, they seethe it in leads, and to every amphore (containing about eight wine gallons) they put one hundred pounds and a-half, just, of the colour so prepared. It ought to boil with a soft and gentle fire, and therefore the tunnel, or mouth of the furnace, must be a good way off from the lead and cauldron; during which time the workmen that tend the lead must often skim off and cleanse away the fleshy substance which cannot choose but stick to the veins which contain the juice or liquor of purple, aforesaid. And thus they continue ten days, by which time, ordinarily, the lead or vessel will show the liquor clear, as if it were sufficiently boiled; and to make a trial thereof they dip into it a fleece of wool, well rinsed, and washed out of one water into another; and, until such time that they see it give a perfect dye, they still ply the fire and give it a higher seething.

"That which staineth red is nothing so rich as that which giveth the deep and sad blackish colour. When it is come to the perfection, they let the wool lie, to take the liquor, five hours. Then they have it forth, touse, and card it, and put it in again, until it hath drunk up all the liquor as much as it will.

"Now this is to be observed that the sea cornet Buccinum makes no good colour by itself, for their dye will shed, and lose the lustre; and therefore they join it usually to the sea purple Pelagium, which maketh too deep and brown a colour, unto which it giveth a fresh and lively tincture, as it were in grain, and so make that sad purple which they desire. Thus, by mixing and medling the force of both together, they mend one another, whilst the lightness or sadness of the one doth quicken and raise, or else dim or take down the colour of the other. To the dyeing of a pound of wool they use this proportion of two hundred Buccina, or sea-cornets, joined with a hundred and eleven Pelagian purples; and so cometh that rich *amythist*, or *purple violet* colour, so highly commended above all other. But the Tyrians make their *deep red purple* by dipping their wool first in the liquor of the Pelagian purples only, while it is not thoroughly boiled to the height, but as it were *green* and *unripe;* and therefore they let it take what it can drink. Soon after, they change it into another cauldron or lead, where the colour of the sea cornets alone is boiled. And then it is thought to have a most

commendable and excellent dye, *when it is as deep a red as blood that is cold and settled,* blackish at the first sight, and look between you and the light it carries a bright and shining lustre, and hereupon it is that Homer calleth blood purple.

"CHAP. XXXIX.

"WHEN THEY BEGAN AT ROME TO WEAR PURPLE FIRST.

"I find in Chronicles that purple hath been used in Rome time out of mind. Howbeit K. Romulus never wore it but in his royal habit or mantle of estate called *Trabea.* And it is well known that Tullus Hostilius was the first Roman king who, after he had subdued the Tuscans, put on the long purple robe named pretexta, and the cassocks broached and studded with scarlet in broad guards. Cornelius Nepos, who died in the days of Augustus Cæsar, the emperor, says, 'when I was a young man the light violet purple was rife and in great request, and a pound of it was sold for 100 deniers, and not long after the Tarentine red purple or scarlet was much called for, and of the same price. But after it came the fine *double-dyed* purple of Tyros, called dibapha, and a man could not buy a pound of it for 1000 deniers, which was the price of ten pounds of the other. P. Lentulus Spinther, in his œdileship of the chair, first wore a long robe embroidered with it, and was checked and blamed therefore. But now-a-days,' saith Nepos, 'what is he that will not hang his parlour and dining-chamber therewith, and have carpets, cushions, and cup-board cloths thereof? And it is no longer ago, when Spinther was œdile, than in the 700th year after the foundation of Rome, even when Cicero was consul. This purple in those days was called dibapha, *i. e.* twice dyed, and that was counted a matter of great cost, and very stately and magnificent. But now you shall have no purple cloths at all, of any reckoning but they shall have their *double* dye As for the cloth dyed with the purple of the shell-fish, conchylia, the manner of making the colour and of dying are in all respects the same, save that there are no sea-cornets used thereto. Moreover, the juice or liquor for that colour, is tempered with water instead of the usual preparation of urea, altogether used in the other, and therein is sodden, but the half proportion of colours to the foresaid tinctures. And thus it is

made that light, pale, stammel, so highly commended for being short of the deep, rich, colour; and the less, while that the wool is suffered to drink the fill; the more bright and fresh it seemeth.

[CHAP. XL. gives a description of the price of wool dyed with these colours.]

"CHAP. XLI.

"THE MANNER OF DYING THE AMETHYST, VIOLET, OR PURPLE, THE CHRYMSON, AND SCARLET IN GRAIN, AND THE LIGHT STAMMEL OR LUSTIE-GALLANT.

"It would not suffice our prodigal spendthrifts to rob the precious stone amethyst of its name, and apply it to a colour, but when they had a perfect amethyst dye, they must have it to be drunken again with the Tyrian purple, that they might have a superfluous and double name, compounded of both, (Tyriamethistus,) correspondent to their two-fold cost, and double superfluity. Moreover, after they have accomplished fully the colour of the conchylium, they are not content until they have a second dye in the Tyrian purple lead. It should seem that these double dies and compounded colours came first from the error and repentance of the workman when his hand missed, and so was forced to change and alter that which he had done before and utterly misliked; and hereof forsooth is come now a pretty cunning and art thereof, and the monstrous spirits of our wasteful persons are grown to wish and desire that which was a fault amended first; and seeing the two-fold way of a double charge and expense trodden before them by the dyers, have found the means to lay colour upon colour, and to overcast and strike a rich dye with a weaker, so that it might be called a more pleasant and delicate colour. Nay, it will not serve their turn to mingle the abovesaid tinctures of sea-fishes, but they must also do the like by the dye of land-colours, (*probably the kermes;*) for when a wool or cloth hath taken a crimson or scarlet in grain, it must be died again in the Tyrian purple to make the light, red, and fresh lustie-gallant.

"As touching the grain, serving to this tincture, it is red, and cometh out of Galatia (as we shall show in our history of

earthy plants) or else about Emerita in Portugal, and that, of all other, is of most account. But to knit up in one word these noble colours, note this—that when this grain is but of one year's age it maketh but a weak tincture, but after four years, the strength thereof is gone. So that, neither young nor old is of any very great virtue. "Thus, I have sufficiently and at large treated of those means which men and women both so highly esteem, and think to make most, for their state and honorable port, and setting out of themselves in the best manner."—*Pliny, 9th Book.*

Aristotle likewise informs us, that the smaller species of shells were *broken up*, as it would be too difficult to separate the animals from them. Those in the breccia found at Tyre are all of a small species.

From the account of Pliny, it appears that four colours were produced, but all coming under the denomination of "the Tyrian," which is the expression made use of by the older writers, particularly the Hebrew and Syriac; for Bochart and others consider the ג and מ inverted in the name ארגמן ARGAMEN, *purple*, and with that change the word would simply mean *Syrian Colour.*

The first was a sullen and melancholy colour, inclining to a *blue* or watchet, and resembling the angry and raging sea in a tempest, and was procured from what he termed the cornet sea-buccinum; the second was obtained from the Pelagian, or deep sea purples, and was in all probability a plain *red*, or, as it is termed, too deep and brown a colour; the third was formed by mixing these two together, and gave the rich *amethyst*, so highly esteemed above all others; and the fourth seems to have been a bright *crimson or scarlet*, and appears to be that mentioned by Homer as the colour of the blood when cold, and held between the examiner and the light. Besides, there was another, which the author states was obtained at a great price by again dipping the amethyst in the purple dye, and so getting a tint, called from being so dipped, *Tyriamethystus.* Some difference in colour may have arisen from the various species of mollusca used, and the different coasts from which the shells were obtained, as besides the Asiatic and African shores of the Mediterranean mentioned by Pliny, Chios and the islands in the vicinity were famous for their purple; and it was true that Alex-

ander, when revelling in Persia, sent for materials to clothe himself and his attendants in purple robes. They are likewise found at Sigetum, and on the coast of Caria.

The isles of Elisha, mentioned by Ezekiel in his glowing description of the manufactures of Tyre, appear to be Elis in the Peloponnesus, which, as well as Lesbos and Tenedos, produce shells affording a purple dye. Athenæus tells us of the largest being found about the promontory of Lectus; and it is probable that the best purples were those obtained from the deep sea. Different varieties of murices and buccina are found in the Gulf of Tarentum, conglomerated into a breccia, somewhat similar to that which I brought from Tyre.

The first written account of these Tyrian colours that we read of, is that contained in the 25th chapter of Exodus, where they are mentioned among the offerings that the children of Israel were commanded to offer as decorations of the tabernacle, when they wandered in the wilderness. The manufacture of these they in all probability learned from the Egyptians, and they may have been some of the wares of which that nation were despoiled on the departure of the Hebrews. "And this is the offering which ye shall take of them; gold, and silver, and brass, and *blue*, and *purple*, and *scarlet*, and fine linen, and goats' hair; and rams' skins dyed *red*, and badger's skins, and shittim wood." (Exod. xxv. 3, 4, 5.) And the same articles are frequently enumerated in the subsequent descriptions of the decorations and ornaments of the priests and the sanctuary. Dr. Adam Clarke's observations on the original words used to express these colours, are well worthy of remark.

"BLUE, תכלת, *techeleth*, generally supposed to mean an *azure* or *sky colour*, rendered by the Septuagint, ὑακινθοι; and by the Vulgate, hyacinthum, a *sky-blue* or *deep violet*.

"PURPLE, ארגמן, *argamen*, a very precious colour, extracted from the *purpura*, or *murex*, a species of shell-fish, from which, it is supposed, the famous Tyrian purple came,—so costly, and so much celebrated in antiquity."

"SCARLET, תולעת, *tolaath*, signifies a worm of which this colouring matter was made; and, joined with שני, shani, which signifies to *repeat* or *double*, implies that to strike this colour, the wool or cloth was twice dipped; hence the Vulgate renders

the original *coccum bis tinctum.* 'Scarlet twice dyed;' and to this Horace refers, Odar. lib. ii. od. 16, v. 35 :—

'—— *Te* Bis *Afro*
Murice Tinctæ
Vestiunt Lanæ.'——

'Thy robes the *twice-dyed* purple stains.'
Francis.

It is the same colour which the Arabs call *al kermez*, whence the French *cramoisi*, and the English *crimson.*"

Fine linen, or fine-twined linen, follows next among the articles enumerated, and here it is curious that this article is always mentioned in connection with the scarlet colour, as if that texture (which some suppose to be silk) was dyed scarlet. The very obvious and striking similarity of these colours, as shown from their derivations, and in particular that of the twice-dyed scarlet, to the account of the Roman naturalist, is so plain and distinct that it requires little comment.

But there are other substances mentioned in this description that claim our attention :—

"Goat's-hair, עִזִּים, *izzim, goats,* but used here elliptically, for goat's-hair. In different parts of Asia Minor, Syria, Cilicia, and Phrygia, the goats have long, fine, and beautiful hair,—in some cases almost as fine as silk, which they shear at proper times, and manufacture into garments. From Virgil, Geor. iii. v. 305, we learn that goat's-hair, manufactured into cloth, was nearly of equal value with that formed from wool.

'For hairy goats of equal profit are
With woolly sheep, and ask an equal care.
'Tis true the *fleece,* when drunk with Tyrian juice,
Is dearly sold,' &c.—Dryden.

"Ram's-skins Dyed Red, עֹרֹת אֵילִם מְאָדָּמִים, *oroth eglim meoadamim,* literally the 'skins of red rams;' and these the learned commentator supposes to have been of a violet colour, and that such was the natural colour of the fleece; and, to this effect, he quotes the passage in Homer's Odyss. lib. ix. v. 425:—

"Strong were the rams, with native *purple* fair,
Well fed, and largest of the fleecy care."—Pope.

And again, in Virgil, Eclog. iv. v. 43:—

> "With native *purple* or unborrowed gold,
> Beneath his pompous fleece shall proudly sweat,
> And under *Tyrian* robes the lamb shall bleat."—DRYDEN.

I cannot subscribe to this, as no such sheep are known to inhabit any of these countries. If they really were of a *violet* colour, it is not improbable that they may have been dipped in the Tyrian dye; but the sheep that now inhabit Syria and Asia Minor, that in any way differ from the common, are of a reddish fawn, or chocolate colour. This peculiar tint is sought for, among the Mooslims, even at the present day; and is sometimes produced artificially. Thus Captains Irby and Mangles, arrived at an encampment of Jellaheen Arabs, near El Baid, beyond Hebron; among whom was a tailor, making sheep-skin coats, which were dyed red with ochre, or some such clay colouring matter.

"BADGER'S-SKINS," עֹרֹת תחשים, *oroth techashim*. Few terms have afforded greater perplexity to critics and commentators than this. Bochart has exhausted the subject, and seems to have proved that no kind of *animal* is here intended, but a *colour*. None of the ancient versions acknowledge an animal of any kind, except the Chaldee, which seems to think the badger is intended, and from it we have borrowed our translation of the word. The Septuagint and Vulgate have skins dyed a *violet* colour; the Syriac, *azure;* the Arabic, *black;* the Coptic, *violet;* the Modern Persian, *ram's-skins,* &c. The colour contended for by Bochart is the hysginus, which is a very deep blue. So Pliny, *Coccoque tinctum Tyrio tingere, ut fieret hysginum.* "They dip crimson in purple to make the colour called *hysginus.*—*Hist. Nat. Lib. IX. c.* 65.

In the coverings of the Tabernacle, mentioned in the 26th chapter, the "fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet," are again brought before us, the latter as being the colours of which each of the four curtains were dyed, and were, in all probability, placed in the following numerical order:—The first, or outermost, was a stuff of Goat's-hair, and was, in all probability, *blue*. The second was of "Ram's-skins dyed red; this was a plain *red*. The third was of "Badger's-skins," and most likely

purple, violet, or *Hysginus;* and the fourth, of "fine twined linen," was *scarlet,* and seems to have been a diaper, or embroidery, termed in Scripture "cunning work." Besides these distinct textures of different hues, there may have been, in some cases, an intermixture of them, in the manner of embroidery, as in the instance of the veil, and the hanging for the door of the tent, "of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine-twined linen, wrought with needle-work." (V. 36.)

In after times, Josephus informs us that this veil "was a Babylonish curtain, embroidered with blue, and fine linen, and scarlet, and purple, and of a contexture that was truly wonderful. Nor was this mixture of colours without its mystical interpretation, but was a kind of image of the universe; for, by the scarlet there seemed to be enigmatically signified fire, by the fine flax the earth, by the blue the air, and by the purple the sea: two of them having their colours the foundation of this resemblance; but the fine flax and the purple have their own origin for that foundation, the earth producing the one, the sea the other." Josephus' Wars of the Jews, b. v. ch. v. s. 4.

To the Rev. George Sidney Smith, Professor of Biblical Greek in our University, I am indebted for the following account of the names of some of the colours used by the Hebrews and other Oriental nations:—

In Isaiah i. 18, we find the word φοινικοῦν of the Septuagint rendered scarlet; and κοκκινον crimson. The corresponding Hebrew words are שנים (Shaneem), and תולע (Thola). There is no difficulty, of course, in recognising in κοκκος, or κοκκινος, the dye called kermes. The worm which yields this dye, is, in Hebrew, *Thola* vermis. However, in 2 Chron. ii. 7, κοκκος answers to כרמיל (Carmeel), which is the same as the Arabic قرمز, *kermes,* the Persian *kerm,* and Sanscrit *krimi;* and from the same root came *crimson, carmine, carmoisi,* &c. in modern tongues. But the Arabic letters Kaf and Fe (ك, ڤ) differ only by one having a single dot over it, and the other, two dots; the one, in fact, being a *digammated* form of the other; so that the Arabic *kermes* easily passes into *vermes,* from which comes *vermillion* and its cognates. But κοκκος also frequently answers to the Hebrew שני (Shanee), and to תולעת שני (Tholaḥath Shanee); the meaning, however, of Shanee is disputed. It properly means *duo, two,* and hence, is

often put as equivalent to twice dyed, *dibaphum*. But as this operation of double dying was properly belonging to the manufacturer of purple, and not of scarlet, the best authorities, such as Braun, Bochart, &c. dispute this sense. Most probably, it comes from an Arabic root, shanah, *splenduit*. The Syriac name for coccus, Zehbree, comes likewise from Zahar, *splenduit*.

Purple is called, in Hebrew, ארגמן (Argāman). It was "color sanguinis concreti," as is collected from the Rabbin. The word is derived, by Bochart, 'quasi *Armagon*, or *Aramgevan*,' from Aram, Syrian, and Gon or Gevan, the common Syriac for "*colour*." Gesenius objects to this, as against the analogy of Shemitic compounds, in which the genitive should follow, and not precede the nominative, and proposes some conjectural derivations, not very satisfactory.

From the mixture of the scarlet of the κοκκος, and the purple, (Argāman,) was produced a compound, called ὑσγινος, or, in Syriac, *Sasgon*, which means, *worm-colour*—ס ס (Sus,) being a worm.

But there was another important colour derived also from the sea. This was called תכלת (Thechēlet), translated ὑακινθος and ὁλοπορφυρον by the Septuagint, and is described as being the cærulean, or deep blue of the sky—indigo, as we should say.

This Thechēlet, or deep blue, was obtained from a molluscous animal called חלזון (Chilzōn), whether a buccinum, or not, I do not know, (perhaps, Buccinum Lapillus.) The Rabbins say, that as the animal grows, its shell grows with it, which leaves no doubt as to its molluscous nature, and is against the supposition of its being a kind of *Sepia*, as some think.

The Rabbins, however, have many fables about this Chilzōn—such as, that it rises to the surface of the sea every seventy years. And one of their questions was, "Does a man commit one sin, or several, who crushes a live *chilzōn*, for the sake of the dye, on the Sabbath-day?" And the passage, Deut. xxxiii. 19. "They shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand;" is paraphrased in the Targum of Jonathan, "They shall feed on abundance of the Taritha, (a delicious fish of the Thunny kind) and catch numbers of the *chilzōn!*"

Maimonides gives an account of the manufacture of Thechēlet from the *chilzōn*. There is nothing very important in it; the wool was steeped and washed, and then the blood of the *chilzōn*,

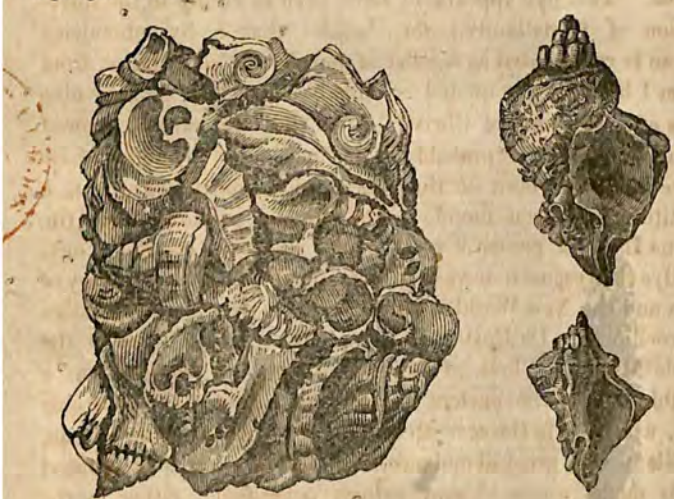
with various dyer's drugs, was poured on it, till it was the colour of the sky.

No other blue would answer for sacred use but this; and the command of Moses, Numbers xv. 88, "To put on the fringe of the garment a ribbon of *blue*," is now disobeyed by the Jews, because they have lost the art of dying from the chilzōn.

The purple (Argāman) and the hyacinth, or conchylium (Thechēlet) are constantly distinguished by ancient writers. Vitruvius states, (but I do not know with what authority) that the purple was made "ex buccino et conchylio admisto;" but that the colour called conchylium was "ex solo conchylio."

Another red colour was called לכא *Laca* and was principally employed in dying *leather;* perhaps not unlike the present *morocco* leather. It was called, too, סרלכא *Sarlaca*, or Tyrian red; and this word Sarlaca affords the most probable derivation that I have met for our word *Scarlet*. The Laca was, *I think*, obtained from some kind of alga "פוך (Phook), is the Hebrew word for fucus, which is plainly derived from it."

The chilzon may be a species of serpula, of which I found such numbers on the coast of Tyre, the interior of which were stained a purple colour.



The foregoing engraving exhibits a fragment of the breccia of shells that I obtained in the *mills* or dye-pots sunk in the rocks at

Tyre, of which no doubt can now exist, but that they are portions of the *Murex Trunculus*. The upper right-hand figure is a *recent* specimen of the same shell, from the coast about Smyrna, and the lower, a smaller one of the same kind, which I picked up on the strand near the Tyrian peninsula.

The larger Murex belongs to my friend Mr. R. Ball, who, on my showing him the breccia, at once produced this shell as being the same as those broken-up pieces in the conglomerate.

No doubt, a dyeing material can be obtained from a variety of turbinated shells, that have a very large geographical distribution.

Fabius Columna seems, however, to be the first who *supposed* that the murex trunculus was the actual shell, and since his day, this opinion has been adopted by Cuvier and Lamark; and experiments were performed on different shells, but particularly the Buccinum Lapillus of Linnæus, by Reaumur and Duhamel, to show how the dye could be obtained; but the opinions of authors amount, at best, to a well-founded supposition, and might as well have applied to any of the several varieties of Mollusca that afford a colouring matter; whereas, the fact of finding the shell in the actual dyeing-pots at Tyre, appears to set this disputed question at rest. This dye appears to have been in use up to the introduction of Christianity; for, besides that a Syrophœnician woman is represented as a seller of purple, the elder Pliny, from whom I have already quoted so largely, flourished seventy-nine years after the birth of Christ. After this, we have no account of the manufacture: probably it declined with the decay of its native city, and even at the time of the Roman naturalist, a substitute had been found in the *Kermes* procured from the Coccus Ilicis, a parasitic insect found upon the evergreen oak. The dye then seems to have been lost; until, upon the discovery of India and the New World, equivalents for it were found in indigo and cochineal. Da Costa was of opinion that the liquor of the Purple Marking Whelk of Cornwall (*Buccinum Lapillus*) was a valuable dye to the ancient English, and quotes the venerable Bede, who lived in the seventh century. "There are," says Bede, "snails in very great abundance, from which a scarlet or crimson dye is made, whose elegant redness never fades, either by the heat of the sun or the injuries of rain; but the older it is, the more elegant."—*Bede Eccles. Hist.* L. 1, c. 1, p. 227.

From my friend, George Finlay, Esq. of Athens, who kindly undertook to make inquiries for me with regard to the ancient manufacture of the Tyrian dye upon the coast of Elis, I have lately received the following communication:—

"That no tradition of any kind exists in Greece, which ascends back for centuries, I can safely say, as I have paid a good deal of attention to searching for the traditions of the country, in every part of it, and I have seldom found any traces which ascended more than a few generations. I have, however, for some time been engaged in writing a history of the Hellenic people, from the decline of the Roman empire to the present time, and I find frequent mention of the manufactures of the Peloponnesus. The Jewish traveller, Benjamin Tudela, who visited Greece in the twelfth century, mentions also a Jewish colony of 2,000 persons, which was established at Thebes, and carried on an extensive silk manufactory, and purple dyeing. In the life of Basil, the Macedonian, by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, (Basil reigned from 867 to 886,) mention is made of richly dyed cloths and carpets; and the fishers for purple, (κογχυλιευται,) are noticed as exempted from military service in the reign of Romanus Lecapenus (935), which you find in Constantine Porphyrogenitus's *De Administrando Imperio*, cap. 52. But I have no means of ascertaining whether the shell was the same species of Murex as that used in Phœnicia or not. It is, however, almost certain, from the general similarity of all the shells found on the coasts of Greece and Syria, which, I am told, almost universally correspond in species, and from the fact of Benjamin Tudela mentioning Jerusalem and Thebes as two towns where Jews were great purple dyers. Their removal to Thebes would be caused by the advantage of living on the spot where the silk was manufactured, and their secret in dying purple would of course be the Phœnician method."

Walker, in his Irish Bards, enumerates the colours and dying materials used by the ancient Irish, as black, crimson, *purple*, and yellow.

"There is," says he, "a beautiful crimson obtained from the periwinkle, and a kind of limpet of red, white, black, yellow, brown, and sand colours. The fish is laid with its mouth downward on some solid body, and the shell broke, but so as not to

bruise the fish. When the shell is picked off, there appears a white vein, lying transversely in a furrow, next the head, which may be taken out by a bodkin, or other pointed instrument. If periwinkles are used, the shell is not to be broken. The vein lying on the head, on being pricked with a pin, distils a few drops of a white milky liquor, without injuring the fish, which may be pricked thus once a day for four or five times. The letters, &c. drawn with this liquor, obtained from either fish or the linen, first appear a light green, then a deep green, and, in a few minutes, to a full sea-green; then, a blue, afterwards a deep purple red, and all in a few hours, if exposed to the sun. But, after washing it in hot water and soap, the purple becomes a beautiful bright crimson, which nothing can change."—*Walker's Irish Bards*, Vol. II. p. 261.

At Nycoya, in the West Indies, Gage found a shell, resembling the ancient purpura, and used for a like purpose; but the descriptions of this author are so very like that of Pliny, as to their hiding before the rise of the dog-star, disappearing for three hundred days, &c. that he seems to have studied the latter historian *too closely*. At Guayaquil, in South America, there was, some time ago, a considerable manufactory of this article, and the cloths dyed with it were only allowed to be worn by the Spanish lords. It is also known to the inhabitants of the South Sea and Caribbean Islands, where it is called Burgum.

In 1684, Mr. W. Cole, of Bristol, made a communication upon this subject, to the Royal Society of London, in which he states that he obtained a purple dye from the *Buccinum Lapillus*, found on the coast of Somersetshire, and North Wales, similar to that found on the coast of Poitou; and also states, that at that time a trade was carried on in Ireland, by persons who went about marking handkerchiefs and linen, with a dye obtained, likewise, from the *Buccinum Lap.*—*Phil. Trans.* vol. 2, p. 823.

This art is still known to some of the people of the Wicklow coast.

In the fifth vol. of the "Belfast Magazine," (1810,) there is an account of some recent experiments performed on this colouring matter, extracted from Montague's *Testacea Britannica*. In this case the animals used were likewise the *Buccinum Lapillus*, and afterwards the *Turbo Clathrus*. These experiments I have repeated

with the *Buccinum Lapillus*, and they gave the like result. Those I made use of were collected by my friend Dr. Farran, at Howth and Malahide, where they abound in such quantities on the rocks, that tons weight of them could be collected in a short time.

On breaking the shell, the colouring fluid will be found contained in a receptacle, lying in a sulcus, behind the neck of the animal. This receptacle can be at once distinguished by the whitish-grey colour of the fluid that it contains, and by its tortuous, worm-like, appearance. On removing this, which is of the consistence of cream, with a sharp-pointed instrument, and applying it to any linen, woollen, cotton, or silken textures, it, in a few seconds, assumes a straw-colour, then a light green; presently, the margin of the coloured part becomes a pinkish red, and, as the drying proceeds, the whole deepens into a vivid purple, which, on washing, increases in lustre and intensity. It must, however, be exposed to solar light, and the more intense the light, the sooner will the changes of colour take place, and the more beautiful the tint produced.

To show the effect of light upon this substance, the following experiment may be instanced. I soaked a piece of flannel in a solution of this juice, and pinned it against the window-frame, in a strong light; having been called away, I did not remove the bit of flannel for above two hours. When I returned, I found that the side next the light had assumed the usual purple colour, but the reverse side, that away from the light, and which was also perfectly dry, had remained a green—that hue which is the second step in the transition, and this colour it maintained.

I do not believe that there was any mordant used to strike or fix this dye, for it is an animal indigo, and contains a mordant in itself; there was no need, therefore, of the tin which the ships of Tarshish brought from Cornwall, being used for this purpose. And the salt, mentioned by Pliny, seems to me to have been used, not as mordant, but in order to purge out the juice from the animals, and Templeman has proved that salt has no effect whatever.

"It was found," says the writer of the article in the Belfast Magazine, and I have had similar results, "that after the colour was fixed at its last natural change, nitrous, no more than vitriolic acid, had no other effect than that of rather brightening it;

aqua regia, with and without solution of tin, and marine acid, produced no change; nor had fixed or volatile alkali any sensible effect."

I found that the colour decreases in lustre by the animal being kept for any time out of its natural element. From the experiments upon the Turbo Clathrus I quote the following:—

"As the animal becomes sickly by keeping for some days in sea-water, it frequently discharges a most beautiful purple liquor. This circumstance was known to Plancus, who observes that it is one of those shells which yield the purple dye of the Mediterranean; and which is also recorded by Martini. It may, indeed, with much reason, be conjectured that this is really one of the shells from the animal of which the ancients procured their famous purple dye; though if Pliny is consulted, the shells that produced this precious colour were either Murices or Buccines, or both. 'Glowing with Tyrian Murex,' is an expression of Virgil, that indicates it to have been collected from shells of that genus only; but we must recollect that Conchology was at the time of those writers, in its very infancy; scarcely systematized, or formed into any divisions, so that Turbo Clathrus may possibly have some claim to the credit of contributing to the celebrated Tyrian Murex."

The colour of this animal differs, however, materially from that of the Buccinum Lapillus, for,—

"Mineral acids turn it to a bluish green, or sea-green; sulphuric acid renders it a shade more inclining to blue: vegetable acids probably do not affect it, since cream of tartar did not in the least alter it. These colours laid on paper, were very bright, and appeared for some months unchanged by the action of the air, or the sun; but being exposed for a whole summer to the solar rays, in a south window, they almost vanished. The application of alkali to the acidulated colour always restored it to its primitive state, and was as readily changed again by mineral acid; in particular it differs materially from the succus of Buccinum Lapillus, which we have before remarked is *unalterable*. Its property is materially different from litmus, which is turned from blue to red, with the most trifling mixture of any acid. It differs, also, from vegetable colours in general by not being affected

by alkali, which turns the infusion of blue or purple flowers to green."

No reliance can, I conceive, be placed on the accounts of the ancients, as to what the exact animal was; some supposing it to have been a Purpura, some a Murex, and others a Buccinum or a Turbo; all which do, no doubt, yield a dye, but the finding of the breccia of the *Murex Trunculus*, in the dye-pots at Tyre, is, I think, conclusive.

There is, I understand, a tradition among Irish antiquaries, that the shells were found on this coast, and that it was for that purpose the Tyrians voyaged so far west. This, however, is not very likely, when the shells that give the colouring matter were found, so abundantly, near home, and the Murex Trunculus is not found here; besides, unless they manufactured it on the Irish coast, it would be little worth, for, unlike cochineal, the colour fades on the death of the animal.

Stone mortars, similar to those found at Tyre, were in use among the ancient Egyptians; and several of the mummy clothes have a blue cross stripe above the end or selvedge. This colour, Mr. Thompson supposed to be the product of indigo, and this opinion is adopted by Mr. Wilkinson; but the tests used by the former prove it as well to have been the Tyrian, or Conchilian colour; and this is the more probable, from the Hebrews carrying along with them not only the art, but, very likely, the materials to manufacture it with, as I have endeavoured to prove in the previous part of this essay; and if it be established that all these colours were the produce, or, at least, the manufacture of Tyre, it proves the existence and commercial importance of that place as far back as when the Israelites wandered in the wilderness.

I trust some of our enterprising manufacturers will institute an inquiry as to the possibility of turning the shells producing a colouring matter, that inhabit our shores, to account. Some valuable information on this subject may be found in the work of Amati, called, "Purpura Restituta," Reaumur's Experiments on the Buccinum of Poitou, Duhamel's Experiments on the Mediterranean Mollusca, Fabius Columna De Purpura, Vitruvius De Architect, l. 7, c. 13. See, also, Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, Donovan's, and most other conchological works.

C.—Page 355.

Anatomical characteristics of the heads found in the Aceldama, and description of the cranium of a modern Egyptian.

Fig. 1, Plate 1.—A Skull belonging to the Ethiopian variety.—The nasal bones are rather more prominent than in the generality of this race, and the meatus auditorius externus, or tube of the ear, is a little lower down than in most skulls that I have examined. Independent of the general characters of the heads of this variety, as I have enumerated them at pages 349-51, I may remark the following peculiarities or distinctions between it and the European or Caucasian form of cranium.

Besides the greater density and strength of the malar or cheek bone, it presents a much larger lateral surface than in the Caucasian, and a greater hollow or depression at its junction with the orbital process of the frontal. The posterior surface of the superior maxillary bone is, likewise, more convex externally, and the external pterygoid plates stronger. The other peculiarities of the lateral view are well exhibited in the plate.

Professor Owen has, with his usual talent and observation, drawn attention to the analysis of the basis cranii of different skulls. A few words on the comparisons of this and the other crania of the plate may not be amiss. The outline of the base is longer, and its sides flatter; the foramen magnum more elliptical; but its anterior edge is on a plane anterior to the anterior margin of the mastoid processes. The occipetal condyles look more outwards, and the baselar process is longer and narrower than in Europeans, the glenoid cavity much deeper, and the hard palate is shallower and less arched.

Fig. 2, plate 1, is the skull of a modern Egyptian who was killed before the walls of Acre, in the late attack on that place by Ibrahim Basha. It is a well-marked instance of the generality of that people, who are characterized by extreme narrowness of breadth as compared with the height of their foreheads; this skull barely measuring three inches across the forehead above the external angular processes of the frontal bone. This

is evidently a mixed variety, and exhibits in a very remarkable manner the blending of the anatomical characters of the two races from which the greater part of the modern Egyptians are sprung; that is, the Arab and the Negro. But many of the negresses who are sold in the Egyptian slave-markets are natives of Mozambique, and these, it is well-known, have higher foreheads than any of the other negro races. The zigomæ are on a plane somewhat external to the frontal and parietal bones, and more arched than in the well-marked Ethiopian. The nasal bones are more prominent, while the alveolar process of the superior maxilla presents all the characters of that race. The upper and lower margins of the orbits are on the same plane; the basis cranii presents a greater preponderance in its antero-posterior compared with its lateral diameter; but the most striking peculiarity of this base is that of the projection of the occipetal condyles being below the plane of the mastoid processes. The sutures of this head are some of the best marked that I have ever seen, and contain (particularly the lambdoid) the largest and greatest number of ossa triquetra.

Fig. 3, plate 1, a mixed variety—is the skull of an old edentulous person, probably a female; so thin as to be almost diaphanous in many places, and is particularly light and pliable. The zigomæ are slightly arched, and project somewhat beyond the lateral surface of the head. The nasal bones are rather prominent; the alveolar process is wholly absorbed, and the hard palate very narrow; the condyles are on a plane with the extremity of the mastoid processes. The want of frontal development, and extremely small size of this head, give it some of the characters of that of an idiot, but there were many such in the same chamber.

Fig. 4, plate 2, a pyramidal skull of the Mongolian variety whose base is represented at fig. 5 of the same plate; it differs, however, from the true or well-marked Mongolian in the following particulars:—The face is not quite so flat or confluent; the zigoma is not quite so prominent laterally, and more rounded at its junction with the malar or cheek-bone. The alveolar process, or the sockets for the teeth, projects rather much, so as to throw out the teeth at a small angle with the upper jaw, in this respect approaching the negro race; the nasal bones are more pro-

minent, and have a very deep notch at their junction with the forehead or frontal bone. This peculiarity Dr. Prichard says he has observed in Australian and Polynesian skulls; but another head that I removed from the left-hand chamber of this tomb, wants this, and possesses more of the Chinese feature; and he also says, that he has seen Esquimaux heads, that they very much resembled, and that in some particulars they are like those artificially-shaped craniæ brought from Peru; but a glance at this skull, and at one of those altered by artificial means, will at once explain the difference. The orbits preserve much of this Mongul peculiarity, being long, large, deep, set widely apart, and having the lower edge on a plane, posterior to the upper.

I know not whether the remark be original, but it has struck me as being extraordinary, that the knob at the top of this skull, which is so characteristic of the pyramidal heads to which this belongs, and which might be adduced as one of the characteristic distinctions of particular races, is chiefly found among those nations who shave the scalp, except a long tuft of hair left at top, growing from this part of the crown of the head. Such is the practice, and such the heads among the Chinese, Kalmucs, and Turks, who are descendants of the Turcomans, a true Mongul race. Homer mentions that the Thracians, another Turanian people, wore the hair only on the crown of the head. I have frequently observed in the barber's shops in the east, that the heads of young boys did not possess this knob, even comparatively with the men; and from this circumstance I am inclined to suppose, that their wearing this tuft on the top of their heads, is partly the cause of the protuberance, especially as, when uncovered, they are constantly pulling and twisting it in their fingers. The peculiarities of the base are expressed in the plate, and do not require enumeration for anatomical or scientific readers.

To enter into a more minute detail of *all* the anatomical characters of these heads, would be foreign to a work such as this.

D.—Page 430.

REGISTER OF THE FAHRENHEIT THERMOMETER, ON BOARD THE CRUSADER YACHT, TAKEN AT THE HOURS OF 9, A.M.; 12, N.; AND 9, P.M. FROM THE 9TH DECEMBER TO THE 23D OF MAY, 1837–8.

Month.	Date.	A.M. 9 o'clock.	N. 12 o'clock.	P.M. 9 o'clock.	Situation.
December	9	56	59	58½	Gibraltar.
..	10	57	59	54	...
..	11	60	62	56	...
..	12	57	59	52	...
..	13	58	59	54	...
..	14	57	58	52	At Sea.
..	15	58	59	53	Coast of Spain.
..	16	57	57	59	...
..	18	60	61½	54	Coast of Africa.
..	19	62	62	56	Algiers.
..	20	61	62	57	...
..	21	59½	63	56	...
..	22	61	61	57	...
..	23	57	60	58	...
..	24	58	60	54	...
..	25	56	59	54	...
..	26	57	59	56	...
..	27	58	61	55	...
..	28	56	60	54	...
..	29	60	61	57	...
..	30	59	60	54	...
..	31	59	61	56	...
..	1	57	59	57	West Coast of Sicily.
Jan. 1838	2	57	56	56	...
..	3	56	57	56	Marsella.
..	4	54	57	56	...
..	5	58	59	58	Coast of Sicily.
..	6	58	59	58	Malta.
..	7	59	61	60	At Sea.
..	8	60	60	60	...
..	9	58	58	57	...
..	10	56	58	57	Off Candia.
..	11	58	59	59	At Sea.
..	12	59	62	61	...
..	13	62	64	62	...
..	14	63	63	61	...
..	15	58	62	60	Alexandria.
..	16	59	63	60	...
..	17	60	63	60	...
..	18	58	62	57	...

Month.	Date.	A.M. 9 o'clock.	N. 12 o'clock	P.M. 9 o'clock.	Situation.
January.	19	59	62	58	Alexandria.
..	20	60	65	59	...
..	21	60	64	59	...
..	22	61	64	60	...
..	23	60	64	64	...
..	24	58	63	63	...
..	25	59	64	62	...
..	26	60	65	63	...
..	27	64	65	63	...
..	28	60	65	62	...
..	29	57	64	62	...
..	30	60	64	60	...
..	31	59	64	60	...
..	1	59	65	60	...
February.	2	59	63	57	...
..	3	59	62	58	...
..	4	59	63	57	...
..	5	58	62	61	...
..	6	60	61	59	...
..	7	58	62	56	...
..	8	57	59	55	...
..	9	59	60	56	At Sea.
..	10	58	60	56	...
..	11	59	63	58	Symi.
..	12	58	61	56	...
..	13	59	60	54	...
..	14	59	60	56	...
..	15	57	59	58	...
..	16	57	60	56	...
..	17	57	59	57	Rhodes.
..	18	58	62	54	...
..	19	58	61	53	...
..	20	53	56	42	Marmorice.
..	21	39	50	41	...
..	22	47	55	40	...
..	23	52	55	52	...
..	24	56	57	58	...
..	25	58	64	61	Karagatch.
..	26	60	64	60	...
..	27	62	65	63	...
..	28	63	66	60	...
..	1	55	65	58	At Sea.
March.	2	52	66	58	Macri.
..	3	60	63	58	...
..	4	64	66	60	At Sea.
..	5	61	64	60	...
..	6	62	68	54	Cyprus.
..	7	60	64	57	...

Month.	Date.	A.M. 9 o'clock.	N. 12 o'clock	P.M. 9 o'clock.	Situation.
March.	8	64	69	63	Cyprus.
..	9	60	68	58	Beyrout.
..	10	63	68	59	...
..	11	59	62	60	...
..	12	60	66	61	Tyre.
..	13	63	67	60	...
..	14	62	65	59	...
..	15	63	68	59	...
..	16	60	64	60	...
..	17	60	64	59	...
..	18	62	65	59	Jaffa.
..	19	59	64	60	...
..	20	58	66	60	At Sea off Jaffa.
..	21	56	65	68	...
..	22	59	66	64	...
..	23	58	70	68	...
..	24	60	74	69	...
..	25	64	73	62	...
..	26	68	68	62	...
..	27	63	65	62	...
..	28	60	64	60	...
..	29	63	68	64	...
..	30	62	66	62	...
..	31	62	69	64	...
April.	1	60	62	60	...
..	2	59	64	59	...
..	3	58	57	54	Greece.
..	4	55	55	50	...
..	5	52	65	59	...
..	6	58	59	56	...
..	7	59	60	57	...
..	8	58	59	57	...
..	9	61	64	60	...
..	10	58	58	56	...
..	11	54	56	55	Athens.
..	12	55	60	59	...
..	13	61	64	58	...
..	14	59	64	57	...
..	15	56	59	58	...
..	16	58	63	58	...
..	17	58	60	56	...
..	18	60	63	59	...
..	19	59	62	58	...
..	20	60	63	59	...
..	21	61	68	64	...
..	22	62	67	58	...
..	23	65	64	62	...
..	24	64	68	60	...

Month.	Date.	A.M. 9 o'clock.	N. 12 o'clock.	P.M. 9 o'clock.	Situation.
April.	25	61	61	61	Athens.
..	26	64	68	68	...
..	27	65	69	60	...
..	28	62	68	61	...
..	29	64	64	64	...
..	30	58	60	57	...
May.	1	59	62	60	...
..	2	62	62	60	...
..	3	59	61	58	...
..	4	62	62	61	...
..	5	65	68	64	...
..	6	66	66	66	At Sea, between Malta
..	7	66	68	67	and Gibraltar.
..	8	67	67	66	...
..	9	65	66	64	...
..	10	63	64	63	...
..	11	68	71	68	...
..	12	69	71	63	...
..	13	67	68	66	...
..	14	65	67	64	...
..	15	62	63	63	...
..	16	66	73	60	...
..	17	58	61	60	...
..	18	62	66	64	Gibraltar.
..	19	66	68	56	...
..	20	58	67	64	...
..	21	60	67	64	...
..	22	61	68	67	...
..	23				We left the Mediterranean.

THE END.

Dublin: Printed by JOHN S. FOLDS, 5, Bachelor's Walk.

00085682

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016